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AN INVESTIGATION OF THE ACTIVITIES AND IMPORTANCE OF ENGLISH PIRATES 1603-40.

A thesis presented for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

at the University of Bristol

by

Clive Malcolm Senior

1972

SYNOPSIS

Chapter I discusses the problem of defining piracy and determines the limits of this thesis. The second chapter shows the way in which piracy was handled by the High Court of Admiralty during the early seventeenth century. The next three chapters are concerned with the activities of English pirates in the three main spheres of operation: the Mediterranean, the Atlantic and the English coast. Whilst such geographical divisions cannot be rigidly adhered to, the characteristics of piracy in each of these areas was markedly different, and the distinctions have been brought out in each case. Chapter VI, 'The Business of Piracy', is an attempt to describe the pirates and their activities: the men, their way of life, their ships and the tactics which they used. Chapter VII deals with government attempts to suppress piracy, and tries to assess how much credit can be given to the English government for the decline of piracy. The final chapter is a discussion of the economic significance of English piracy, particularly its impact on English and foreign trade.

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A Dutch fluyt or flyboat ..... between pp. 237-8

ABBREVIATIONS

The usual abbreviations have been used with the exception of:

H.C.A. - Public Record Office, High Court of Admiralty

N.R.S. - Navy Records Society

When a work is first cited, the title is given in full. Thereafter an abbreviated form has been used, which can be easily checked by reference to the Select Bibliography.

Note:

Place of publication is London unless otherwise stated. Contractions in MSS. have been expanded when this can be done with reasonable certainty. Punctuation has been inserted where necessary to clarify the meaning.

Dates have been retained as they are in MSS., but the year has been reckoned as beginning on 1 January. Thus, admiralty examinations recorded between 1 January and 25 March are given as one year later than they appear in the examination books.

Spain
Lisbon
C. Espichel
C. St. Vincent
C. Sta Maria
Seville
San Lucar
Jerez
Cadiz
Malaga
Gibraltar
STRAIT OF GIBRALTAR
Tangier
Ceuta
Tetuan
Larache
Mamora
Sally
Rabat
Casablanca
Mazagan
Asamor
Safi
Mogador
Valencia
Alicante
Cartagena
C. de Gata
Melilla
Oran
Algiers
Ibiza
Majorca
Minorca
MEDITERRANEAN SEA

INTRODUCTION

It is surprising that piracy under the early Stuarts has received so little serious study. Many authors who have touched on the subject have recognised that after the end of Elizabeth's reign English piracy took on a markedly different character. In the early years of the seventeenth century, English pirates grew significantly in number and ensconsed themselves in several ports in North Africa. They defied the English government and their depredations ranged from the Levant to Newfoundland, from Iceland to the Guinea coast. Yet in printed works, probably no more than a dozen of these men are mentioned. Of those whose names are known, the careers of only a few - notably John Ward, Peter Easton and Lording Barry, have ever been investigated in any detail.

In contrast, the activities of the buccaneers later in the seventeenth century have received a great deal of attention from historians and others, whilst even Elizabethan piracy, which was far less spectacular, has been the subject of a correspondingly greater number of studies.

Naval historians such as Corbett and Oppenheim showed a fleeting interest in English piracy, but mainly tackled it from the point of view of the problems which it posed for the navy and for the government. For any real understanding of the problems involved in combatting piracy, it is first necessary to examine the strength and operational activities of pirates in detail. Oppenheim, in his edition of Monson's Naval Tracts, touches briefly on Jacobean piracy[1], but he clearly had no idea that the activities of English pirates at Algiers and Tunis were completely separate and markedly different in character from those of the English pirates who were established on the Atlantic coast of Morocco.

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1 'The Naval Tracts of Sir William Monson', ed. M. Oppenheim, 5 vols., N.R.S., III. 69-78.

This distinction was not recognised until the publication of Godfrey Fisher's Barbary Legend in 1957.[1] Fisher, however, did not examine the subject of English piracy in depth, while R.O. Moore, who was the first writer to draw on admiralty records to any extent, paid little attention to the activities of English pirates in the Mediterranean and in North Africa.[2]

It has been recognised that by the end of James' reign English pirates no longer held sway in the Atlantic or in the Mediterranean, but the reasons for this decline have remained obscure. To remain powerful for any length of time, pirates have always had to depend on a reliable base of operations. It is therefore impossible to undertake a study of English pirates without taking into consideration their bases abroad and their relationship with foreign rulers. It seems that the reasons for the growth and decline of English piracy are just as likely to be found in Africa or in the Mediterranean as in England. It was almost inevitable that Moore, by neglecting to study English pirate bases outside Britain, should reach the conclusion that the decline in English piracy was due to internal economic conditions in England, such as the vicissitudes of the 'labour market'.[3]

One of the main objects of this thesis, therefore, is to distinguish between the operational areas of different bands of English pirates, and then to examine the peculiar conditions under which each type of piracy was able to exist.

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1 Godfrey Fisher, Barbary Legend. War, Trade and Piracy in North Africa 1415-1830, Oxford, 1957, p.139. Fisher was at pains to prove that the regencies of North Africa were not as responsible for the depredations of English pirates as had been previously supposed.

2 Ronald Oury Moore, 'Some Aspects of the Origin and Nature of English Piracy, 1603-25', Virginia Univ., Ph.D., 1960.

3 Ibid., p.249.

Because English piracy has been so little studied, some surprising misconceptions have arisen. No modern author has paid sufficient attention to the laws relating to piracy in England or to the way in which they were applied in practice. Fisher, whose book about Barbary has done much to correct many misconceptions on that subject, was not as well-informed about the English pirates themselves. Talking of the reign of James I, he wrote:

> So far from any leading pirate being severely punished ... offences could easily be compounded if not actually rewarded, so that 'the trade' became a recognised field for naval training and official advancement.[1]

Such a statement is extremely misleading about the way in which piracy was dealt with by the admiralty court in the seventeenth century.

No serious attempt has been made by historians to assess the impact which English piracy had on trade, and it seems unlikely that the material for a detailed study exists. It has been argued that the greatest economic disruption at sea was caused by privateers of cities such as Dunkirk or La Rochelle, whose depredations were spawned out of civil strife. Such assertions, although difficult to quantify, may well be true.

However, even if the effect of English piracy were minimal in comparison to the depredations of foreigners, it would still remain a subject worthy of study. Pirates, because they normally exist outside the laws of civilised societies, have always exerted a popular appeal, precisely because they have rejected a civilised code of conduct and followed a peculiar life-style. This appeal has almost certainly been out of all proportion to their economic importance. Yet piracy, as an area of study, affords an insight into many aspects of society. For the

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[1] Fisher, op. cit., p.142.

early seventeenth century, it can shed light on such diverse subjects as governmental responsibility, the effectiveness of the law, contemporary standards of public service, the efficiency of the English navy and the relations between England and the regencies of North Africa, besides illuminating the kind of conditions which faced Englishmen who went to sea during the period. Paradoxically, it is perhaps because pirates were outcasts that piracy is such a faithful mirror of conditions within their society.

A CRITICAL NOTE ON THE MAIN SOURCES

This thesis is based almost entirely upon manuscript sources, especially the criminal records of the High Court of Admiralty (H.C.A.1). Without these records, which are very full for the period 1603-40, it is doubtful whether any detailed reconstruction or analysis of the activities of English pirates would be possible.

The Files of Indictments, which have recently been repaired, include not only the indictments, which were the most important legal documents in a sessions of oyer and terminer, but also other documents relating to the procedure of the court: precepts to sheriffs to empanel jurors with their returns, lists of prisoners arraigned, details of charges, and bonds to give evidence. There are also some minutes of sessions included in the Indictment Files which record, in a formal way, the place and time of a sessions, the names of the justices, the jurors and the accused, together with brief details of charges, pleas, verdicts, sentences, bails and adjournments. (There is a useful, although incomplete, series of the minutes of sessions of the court between 1604-38 in H.C.A. 1/60.) Also to be found on the Indictment Files are warrants and precepts for executions, lists of bails, petitions for pardon, writs to take sureties for the good behaviour of pardoned pirates, and writs of non molestatis, which were issued after adequate security had been given. Apart from piracy, the Indictment Files also contain indictments for murder, robbery and sodomy, as well as details of offences against Thames regulations, mutiny, blasphemy and offences against the king and the lord admiral. They are, however, primarily concerned with piracy. For the purposes of this thesis the most useful files are H.C.A. 1/5, 6, 7.

The bare details of charges and the criminal procedure of the court are supplemented by the Criminal Examinations of the court, which were taken down before justices prior to a sessions of oyer and terminer. They are in English, and take the form of a series of replies given to a set of questions. They include examinations of prisoners and witnesses, and help to fill in many of the more intimate details of piracy. The Criminal Examinations, like the Indictment Files, are primarily concerned with piracy, but they also deal with many other matters which were enquired into by the commissioners of oyer and terminer. The result is a rich source of information which provides an unconscious insight into English maritime life. The Criminal Examinations, which are recorded in books, are fairly complete for the period. Some cases are, however, more fully documented than others, and since it is known that examinations in the books were sometimes copied up at a later date,[1] there is always the possibility that some may have been left out. The most useful books for the purposes of this thesis are H.C.A. 1/46, 47, 48, 49, 50, together with two other books of Criminal Examinations which have been listed as H.C.A. 13/97, 98.

The indictments have been listed and the contents of all the criminal records of the H.C.A. have been indexed in two volumes published by the List and Index Society in 1969.

Invaluable as the records of the High Court of Admiralty are for a study of piracy, it must be recognised that they are not comprehensive. In the first place, a great many, perhaps the majority of pirates, escaped the attention of the court. Even for those piracies for which

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1 See H.C.A. 1/47/294-7: 3 July 1612. In another examination the scribe mistakenly copied out the second interrogatory before he had finished copying out the answer to the first (H.C.A. 1/46/332: 13 April 1607). One examination was actually copied out in three different hands (H.C.A. 1/46/334-5: 22 April 1607).

indictments were drawn up, only a small proportion of the crew were usually mentioned by name, and of these, an even smaller number were actually brought to trial.

Secondly, the court did not exercise exclusive jurisdiction in cases of piracy. The lord warden of the Cinque Ports was empowered to issue commissions of oyer and terminer within the jurisdiction of the Cinque Ports independently of the lord admiral, and he is known to have done so on at least one occasion.[1] Furthermore, under an act of 1536, commissions of oyer and terminer for the trial of pirates could be issued to any county and to every borough which constituted a separate county.

Surprisingly little evidence has survived to indictate the frequency with which commissions of oyer and terminer were issued for the trial of pirates in the provinces. The admiralty and the government seem to have treated piracy as such a serious offence that trials had to be held in London whenever possible. The High Court of Admiralty had a well-developed procedure for the trial of pirates and a trial in London was more convenient for foreign merchants who might have a claim against the pirates, and for witnesses who might be called to testify. A provincial sessions carried too great a risk of acquittal and provincial registrars and vice-admirals appear to have been inexperienced in trying pirates.[2] It was generally held that pirates could not be tried by commission in the country without the consent of the lord admiral, and at least one authority believed that they could not be tried outside London at all.[3]

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1 Five pirates were tried at Dover in July 1616, four of whom were sentenced to death (C.S.P. Dom. 1611-18, p. 383).

2 Infra, p.23.

3 Oyer and Terminer Records (H.C.A. 1), 2 vols., List and Index Society. vols. 45 and 46 (1969), I. 2. See also H.C.A. 50/1/235.

Although no commissions to try pirates in the country exist after the early years of the century, trials are known to have taken place during the period at Exeter, Southampton, Plymouth, Yarmouth and also in Munster and North Wales. In all such cases copies of the indictments were supposed to be forwarded to London, and this indeed happened on several occasions.[1]

How many pirates were tried in the country will never be known. Vice-admirals, who would have been the chief recipients of commissions of oyer and terminer, probably kept no records of their proceedings 'otherwise than in a scribled Book for the present memory', a practise condemned by Sir Henry Spelman because:

> ... in their solemn Sessions, where Fellons and Pyrates receive Sentence of Death, there remaineth, I fear, no other Record of their Proceedings: So that Corruption of Blood, and Forfeiture of Lands, after the Death of the present Register, will hardly be proved if it come in question.[2]

It may have been because of such methods that admiralty judges and registrars sometimes travelled to the provinces to supervise a sessions of oyer and terminer at which pirates were to be tried.[3]

Thus, pirates undoubtedly were tried in the provinces, but there is reason to believe that the practice was not encouraged by the government or by the admiralty. Although the records of the High Court of Admiralty are, therefore, an incomplete record of those pirates who were actually indicted and tried, there can be no doubt that they give us a clear picture of the business of the only important tribunal for the trial of piracy in England.

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1 See copies of indictments sent to the High Court of Admiralty from Southampton, Exeter and Cornwall (H.C.A. 1/5/40, 45, 46).

2 Sir Henry Spelman, 'Of the Admiral-Jurisdiction and the Officers thereof', printed in English Works, 1723, p.225.

3 Infra, p.23. In 1603, the trial of some pirates at Southampton was attended by Sir Julius Caesar, the admiralty judge (The Assembly Books of Southampton, ed. J.W. Horrocks, 3 vols, 1917-24, Southampton Record Society, I xxix-xxx).

Apart from the criminal records of the High Court of Admiralty, there is valuable material relating to piracy to be found amongst the records of the civil sector of the court, which was quite distinct from the criminal sector. It was possible for a plaintiff to commence a civil action in the court for the recovery of goods taken by pirates, and such proceedings were conducted entirely independently of any criminal proceedings, although criminal and civil action could be taken at one and the same time.

A thorough investigation has been made of the Civil Examination Books of the High Court of Admiralty (H.C.A. 13), which have yielded some valuable material relating to piracy, especially in examinations of pardoned pirates, or those who had dealings with pirates. An investigation has also been made of some of the Instance Papers and Libels (H.C.A. 24), which contain, amongst other things, criminal interrogatories, commissions for depredations concerning goods taken by pirates, and inventories of several pirate vessels. Some useful material has also been found in the Miscellanea (H.C.A. 30), and in the Indexes (H.C.A. 50).

The Exemplifications (H.C.A. 14), several of which are in an extremely poor state of preservation, are the most valuable source for the student of piracy, apart from the criminal records. They cover the day-to-day executive business of the court, and are especially valuable for directives on piracy given by the lord admiral and the Privy Council. These directives, usually adressed to the judge or registrar of the court, often give instructions which were to be sent to the vice-admirals or other local officers. They also contain such material as pardons and passes issued to pirates, and inventories of pirate goods. Many of the documents are copies. The Exemplifications are especially valuable for the first half of James' reign because of the destruction of the records of the Privy Council for the period between 1 January 1602 and 30 April 1613.

On the whole, the information relating to piracy in the State Papers is disappointing. The Calendar of State Papers, Ireland contains a great deal on the activities of the rovers who frequented Ireland, and throws light on the attempts by officials and by the government to deal with this particular problem. The picture of piracy in Ireland can be supplemented by the 'Letter-Book of Sir Arthur Chichester, 1612-14', printed in Analecta Hibernica no.8 (March 1938), and by some papers which have been preserved at Lambeth Palace amongst the State Papers, Carew.

The Calendar of State Papers, Venetian contains many references to piracy and records many incidents of English piracy in the Mediterranean. Venetian reports are, however, frequently ill-informed and contradictory. More interesting are the determined efforts which were made by the Venetians to recover their property in England, and the various ways in which these efforts were greeted in England by the king, the Council and the admiralty officers.

The Calendar of State Papers, Domestic contains many references to piracy and to the efforts of the government to deal with the problem. However, in the various series of State Papers Foreign, the difficulty is that there was very little sustained interest in piracy. Several series have indeed proved useful, but only for brief periods when piracy came temporarily into prominence. An exception is the State Papers, Portugal, inwhich are contained the letters of Hugh Lee, a representative of the Spanish Company, who hoped to be made consul at Lisbon. He wrote frequently to Salisbury about both English and Turkish piracy, even at times when piracy did not constitute a dangerous threat.

No searches have been made in foreign archives, but papers edited by Grandchamp and de Castries are essential for a true appreciation of the role of the English pirates in North Africa. This is especially true because the State Papers, Barbary contain very little information about the activities of English pirates.

Valuable, but scattered material is to be found in the collections of manuscripts at the British Museum and also amongst the papers published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

Finally, a brief comment must be made on the interpretation of the documents. Much of the evidence relating to piracy is contradic tory, consisting of reports, rumours and hearsay. Besides this, many witnesses who were examined in the admiralty court gave deliberately false information, either because they were trying to save themselves or because they were covering up for others. The individual historian has to reach his own conclusions about what can and cannot be believed, and any interpretation must remain, in the last analysis, subjective. Whenever there is a contradiction over a ship's tonnage or armament, the number of men in a crew, a sum of money or the value of certain goods, I have thought it best to choose the most conservative figure. When evidence is clearly contradictory, as for example, over details of a voyage, ships taken, or individuals involved, I have made every effort to draw attention to the fact, and also to give the reasons for my particular interpretation.

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEMS OF DEFINITION

The first problem which faces the student of piracy is to define the limits of his subject. Where is he to draw the line between the robber and the pirate or between the pirate and the privateer? In the seventeenth century this problem was complicated by the lack of any general agreement amongst states as to what constituted an act of piracy. The purpose of this chapter is, therefore, to attempt to define piracy in the light of prevailing conditions in the early seventeenth century and to explain what contemporaries understood by it.

The latin word pirata has been in common use since Roman times, and although it has not always been used in a pejorative sense, it was well established as a criminal term by the beginning of the seventeenth century.[1] Sir Edward Coke defined a pirate, as 'a Rover and a Robber upon the Sea'.[2] An important 'Acte for punysshement of Pyrotes and Robbers of the See' of 1536, had defined piracy as those acts of robbery and depredation committed within the jurisdiction of the lord admiral, which, if committed on land, would have constituted a felony.[3] Thus piracy involved the theft, or attempted theft, from the legal owners, of a ship and her tackle and cargo or any part of it. The word piracy may technically have been applied in a broader sense, but its intrinsic meaning was clear:

> Piracie is a principall and most frequent sea offence, which although largelie taken doth comprehend all capitoll offences done att sea, yet being properlie taken for a marine depredation, spoile or robberie.[4]

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1 R.G. Marsden (ed.), 'Documents relating to Law and Custom of the Sea', 2 vols., N.R.S. XLIX (1915), and L (1916), I. 99, n.1.

2 Edward Coke, The Third Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England, 1669, p.113.

3 28 Hen. VIII. c. 15 (The Statutes of the Realm from Magna Carta to the end of the Reign of Queen Anne, 9 vols., 1810-28, III. 671).

4 S.P. 16/208/307.

For a robbery to be tried as a piracy the first prerequisite was that the crime should have been committed within the jurisdiction of the lord high admiral. Outside English waters, the admiral's jurisdiction not only covered the high seas, but also includedthose acts of piracy which were committed within the territorial waters of other rulers.[1] This was because pirates were, as Coke called them, '<u>hostes humanis generis</u>', and as such, could be tried in whichever country they were captured.[2] Sir Leoline Jenkins, admiralty judge from 1668 to 1685, enlarged on Coke's statement. He observed that pirates, since they preyed on all ships regardless of nationality, were devoid of that social conscience or humanity which distinguishes men from animals. He concluded that 'all Nations and Soveraign Princes that meet with them, have a just and competent Authority to execute the Law upon them: And they are therefore esteemed to be out of the Protection of all Princes and of all Laws'.[3] Thus, the lord admiral of England enjoyed, with other rulers, a concurrent jurisdiction <u>de jure gentium</u>, enabling him to try piracies which had been committed on the high seas or in the territorial waters of foreign nations.[4]

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1 For example, some pirates were tried for plundering the <u>Mary</u> of Abrildud while she lay at anchor in Conquet, Brittany, '<u>in oris maritimus gallie</u>'. (H.C.A. 1/5/10). Sir Henry Spelman, who died in 1641, defined territorial waters, or the'appropriate sea', as that 'which joyneth to the Territories of any Prince', while the 'common seas' were those 'which lye so remote ... as none may justly claim them' (Sir Henry Spelman,'Of the Admiral-Jurisdiction and the Officers thereof', printed in <u>English Works</u>, 1723, p.226).

2 Coke, <u>op. cit.</u>, p.113.

3 William Wynne, <u>Life of Sir Leoline Jenkins</u>, 2 vols., 1724, I. xci.

4 Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, <u>A History of the Criminal Law of England</u>, 3 vols., 1883, II.25. However, the English admiral's jurisdiction over piracies committed in other countries was imperfect, for he did not possess full power and cognizance in criminal cases (Spelman, <u>op. cit.</u>, p.227).

The admiral's jurisdiction on his own coasts was less clear. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a continual struggle was waged between the common lawyers and the civilian lawyers of the admiralty. Both sides wished to appropriate as much of the expanding commercial and maritime business of the realm as possible, and in order to do this they issued a flood of prohibitions against each other, in cases relating to shipping contracts, insurance, mariners' wages, freight, charter-parties, victualling, ownership disputes and the like. While the admiralty claimed jurisdiction in all maritime affairs, the common lawyers tried to establish that cognizance of a case depended on the locality where the contract was agreed - which was usually on land.[1] Out of this conflict there arose various definitions of where the jurisdiction of the lord high admiral ended and where that of the common law courts began. Clearly the common law had cognizance of acts committed 'within the body of a county' but when was a stretch of water considered as being inside the boundaries of a county, and did the admiral's jurisdiction ebb and flow with the tide?

Although these and other niggling questions preoccupied the lawyers of the day, the admiral's jurisdiction in cases of piracy was fairly well defined. Richard Zouch, admiralty judge from 1641 to 1660, who wrote The Jurisdiction of the Admiralty of England Asserted as a refutation of Coke's claims, barely mentioned criminal jurisdiction, except as an established basis from which to claim similar authority in instance matters. 'The Jurisdiction of the Admiralty', wrote Zouch, 'as to publick offences and causes criminal since the Statute of 15 Rich. 2 hath been so well settled

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1 A. Browne, A Compendious View of the Civil Law, 2 vols., 1798-9, II. 156-7.

by the Statute of 28 Hen. 8. that there can be little occasion of difference touching those matters betwixt the Courts of the common Law and the Court of Admiralty.'[1] The statute of Henry VIII's reign, referred to by Zouch, stated that the admiral's jurisdiction in cases of piracy was to be upon the sea or in any haven, river, creek or place 'where the Admyrall or Admyralls have or pretende to have power auctoritie or jurisdiction.'[2] It is apparent from the indictments of the admiralty court that in practice this jurisdiction was taken to extend downstream from the lowest bridges over all rivers in the kingdom. Thus a robbery committed below London Bridge (infra potem Londoniensis) would be piracy, whereas the same crime committed upstream of the bridge would have been treated as robbery and tried in the common law courts.

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1 Richard Zouch, The Jurisdiction of the Admiralty of England Asserted, 1663, p.91. In 1632, the differences between the admiralty and the common law were ostensibly resolved at the Council table by Charles himself, with the aid of twenty-three counsellors. Jurisdiction in cases of piracy was apparently not at issue (William Prynne, Animadversions on the Fourth Part of the Institutes of the Lawes of England, 1669, pp. 100-1).

2 Statutes of the Realm, III. 671. The admiral's jurisdiction derived from two statutes of 1389 and 1391, which had been designed to curb the expanding powers of regional admirals. These acts forbade the admirals to hold plea of any matter arising 'within the body of a county', even if it occurred on the water, and only gave cognizance of murders and mayhem committed below the lowest bridges over great rivers. (Statutes of the Realm, II. 62, 78: 13 Rich. II c.5 and 15 Rich. II c.3). However, the admiralty interpretation of these statues was sufficiently broad to claim a pretended jurisdiction within the meaning of 28 Hen. VIII c.15.

Coke claimed that a '<u>divisum Imperium</u>' existed between the common law courts and the admiralty court, depending on the state of the tide,[1] but such a distinction was never acknowledged by the admiralty. All commissions issued after 1536, by virtue of the act against pirates, gave power to inquire into piracies committed below the high-water mark.[2] Clearly, it would have been a travesty of justice if a case of a ship which was plundered whilst lying at anchor were to be tried by common law just because the tide was out. Some advocates of the admiralty cause, such as Sir Henry Spelman, even went so far as to claim that the lord admiral had jurisdiction over shores and banks adjoining rivers and the sea.[3]

The admiralty court drew a clear distinction between piracy and theft. In the indictments, the latter was said to be only a felony while the former was stated to be both piratical and felonious. Usually a theft involved no violence and was committed on board a ship by members of the crew. A charge of piracy, on the other hand, almost always involved a violent external assault. Later in the century, Sir Leoline Jenkins laid down three conditions which had to exist before a theft at sea could constitute a piracy:

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1 <u>The Reports of Sir Edward Coke Kt. In English, In thirteen Parts Compleat</u>, 1738, part V. 107.

2 Zouch, <u>op. cit.</u>, p.90. Jenkins, attacking Coke's definition, said that admiralty commissioners had for seven score years interpreted their power as 'within the flowing of the Water, to the full Sea-Mark' (Wynne, <u>op. cit.</u>, I. xci).

3 Spelman, <u>op. cit.</u>, p.226. In 1613, Evan Tege and his accomplices waded through the ooze of the Thames below Gravesend and plundered the <u>Green Hat</u> of Dordrecht which lay on the mud. For this crime, Tege was indicted for piracy (H.C.A.1/6/114; 13/98/83-4: 25 August 1613). A commission of <u>oyer and terminer</u> for Sussex in 1638 directed the commissioners to make inquiry of pirates on the high seas and also in havens, creeks or rivers from bridges next to the sea, within the full sea mark and even on the sea sands (Sir Sherston Baker, <u>The Office of Vice-Admiral of the Coast</u>, 1884, pp. 84-5).

first, that there was a violent attack on a ship by one or more persons, second that goods were carried off (whether the ship was taken or not) and third, that the men who had been despoiled were put in fear by their assailants.[1] It is clear that these conditions enumerated by Jenkins were regarded as necessary to establish the offence of piracy in the early seventeenth century. The indictments for piracy all stress, in a stereotyped format, the calculated use of force by pirates, who are always said to have been in vessels prepared in a warlike fashion,

> ad praedas et spolia acquirendur piratice et felonice congregati existentes vi et armis, vizt. gladiis, bombardis, hastis, telis et scutis.

The booty was always listed, when known, and the victims' lives are always stated to have been endangered (ita quod de vitis earum desperabatur). The indictments nearly always involved an assault by one or more ships or boats upon another, although in a few cases of Thameside piracy no boarding craft are mentioned as having been used.[2] The only indictment for piracy which did not involve an external attack was drawn up against a number of Englishmen who took over command of the Hopewell, near Rhodes, in 1604. In this case the Englishmen, who were the crew of the ship, attacked and overpowered some Turks who were also on board, and escaped with the ship and cargo. Nevertheless, the case was probably only treated as piracy in the first place because of the exceptional circumstances:

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1 Wynne, op. cit., I. xciv.

2 In 1612, Thomas Fleetham, a husbandman of Erith, was indicted for a piracy on a wherry at Erith Bridge, and in 1637 some men indicted for a piracy on the Marigold of London are not mentioned as using any boarding craft (H.C.A. 1/6/ 102; 1/7/149).

the stolen goods, which belonged to the Turks, were worth in excess of £2,500, a Turk was slain by a scimitar during the fight, and the incident caused a serious deterioration in Anglo-Turkish relations. In the event, it is hardly surprising that the charge was piracy rather than theft.[1]

The distinction drawn by the admiralty between theft and piracy bore no relation to the value of the goods involved. William Hearne was indicted for theft in the Charity of London, for stealing £25 in pieces of eight from the master's cabin while the ship was at sea, yet Richard Burley, a Ratcliffe navigator, was indicted for piracy for taking two cannon-balls out of the Costlett of London at Limehouse.[2] Clearly, some piracies amounted to little more than the maritime equivalent of house-breaking or burglary. Such trivial offenders as Burley, who fall within the strict contemporary meaning of piracy, have been included in the definition which has been adopted for this thesis. However, they can hardly be said to have been pirates, in the sense that the word is often used: namely, as implying lawlessness on a scale which goes far beyond the confines of petty pilfering.

Under certain circumstances it was permissible to deprive other men of their goods at sea. By a special provision in Henry VIII's act against pirates, if a crew was in dire need, they could dispossess another ship of its victuals and tackle, so long as there was no felonious intent. If the goods thus taken could not be paid for on the spot, a promissory note had to be handed over and payment made within four months 'this side the Straytes of Marroke', or within a year elsewhere.[3]

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1 H.C.A. 1/5/136; 13/97/34-5: 6 July 1607.

2 H.C.A. 1/7/85, 129. The penalty for theft was the same as for piracy. Hearne was sentenced to death but later reprieved.

3 Statues of the Realm, III. 671.

The only legal way in which a depredation could be committed was by a privateer which carried valid letters of marque or reprisal from one state,[1] and which was authorised to attack and plunder the shipping of another. In the seventeenth century, privateering was a universally accepted method of waging war.[2] It had become especially productive and popular in Elizabethan England after about 1580. However, the system had lent itself to gross abuse. The practical considerations of the war effort overrode legal niceties, and many captains sailed without letters, confident that their actions would receive official sanction afterwards. The only criterion for their prize to be declared lawful was that they had attacked the shipping of Spain or her allies.[3] In the later stages of the war, when the threat from Spain was less menacing, the government found it increasingly difficult to control the actions of English seamen in distant seas, and the attractions of privateering grew in inverse proportion to the difficulties of the war. English captains plundered neutral shipping indiscriminately and concentrated their attacks in the Mediterranean, where prizes were richer and control from England least felt. They found a ready market in the ports of Barbary and the Archipelago, for booty which would never have been declared prize in England. On 8 February 1599, privateers

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1 The distinction between letters of marque and reprisal is not clear: Marsden, Law and Custom of the Sea, I. xxvi-xxvii.

2 The eminent civil lawyer, Alberico Gentili, argued against privateering on the grounds that it was directed against harmless merchants and non-combatants far from the main areas of conflict, with the sole purpose of plunder. His opinion was a singular one for the seventeenth century. (Alberico Gentili, Hispanicae Advocationis, ed. F.F. Abbott, 2 vols., New York, 1921, I. 14a, II. 37).

3 Kenneth R. Andrews, Elizabethan Privateering During the Spanish War 1585-1603, Cambridge, 1964, p.4.

were forbidden to offend or to take the goods of friendly nations on fear of 'extreme paynes', [1] and on 20 March 1602, English men-of-war were banned altogether from the Mediterranean, and the sale of booty in Algiers, Tunis, Zante, Patras, Barbary, Greece or Italy was strictly prohibited.[2]

The halcyon age of English privateering should have ended abruptly on James' accession. On 23 June 1603, a proclamation was issued which recalled all letters of reprisal and denounced any further capture of Spanish ships as piracy. Only privateers which had put to sea before 24 April were allowed to keep their prizes.[3] Nevertheless complaints of depredations continued, and a further proclamation was issued on 30 September, which stated that owners and victuallers were also to be held responsible with their lives, lands and goods, for piracies committed by any ships which they had sent out.[4]

Although the proclamations of 1603 made James' attitude towards privateering clear, they did not specifically preclude Englishmen from serving under letters of marque issued by other rulers. Spain had always condemned as pirates neutrals who attacked her shipping under letters of marque, and even treated her enemies as pirates if they were the members of a ship of which more than half the crew were from neutral or friendly countries.[5] The problem was

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1 Robert Steele, Tudor and Stuart Proclamations 1485-1714, 2 vols., Oxford, 1910, I, no. 900. As early as 1591 a proclamation had been issued forbidding the seizure of Venetian and Florentine goods under the pretext that they were Spanish (Steele, op. cit., I, no.830; Marsden, Law and Custom of the Sea, I. 300-1).

2 Steele, op. cit., I, no. 925.

3 Ibid., I. xciv. A similar proclamation had been prepared in May, but was probably not issued.

4 Ibid., I, no. 972.

5 Gentili, op. cit., I. 28a, II. 51.

particularly acute after the peace with Spain, for many Englishmen continued to take Spanish ships under Dutch letters of marque, and pleaded the commissions of the Prince of Orange in the English admiralty court as an excuse for their spoils. However, they had little success, for if they were caught in England, they were usually treated as pirates.[1] The situation was clarified by a proclamation of March 1605 which forbade English seamen to engage in the service of other countries.[2] Yet the life of a privateer was so attractive, and hatred of Spain so ingrained, that it proved necessary to issue a more forceful proclamation on 8 July 1605. This plainly stated that any English seaman who was caught in the service of the United Provinces would be guilty of piracy.[3]

Thus, although piracy continued to flourish in James' reign, it could no longer be confused with privateering after 1605, as it had been under Elizabeth. Indeed there were no English privateers licenced in peacetime, for James resisted the temptation to issue

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1 Morgan Brook of Weymouth, captain of the Vineyard, and John Jennings of Portsmouth, captain of the Pied Lion of Flushing, were both indicted for piracy on Spanish vessels off the coast of Spain in the last months of 1604. Both men possessed Dutch letters of marque, and Brook even had the support of Sir Noel de Caron, the Dutch ambassador in England, but they were still treated as pirates. (H.C.A. 1/5/68, 121; 1/46/217: 19 November 1605).

2 Steele, op. cit., I. xciv.

3 Ibid., no. 1014. Elizabeth had issued a proclamation in 1575 forbidding her subjects from serving in foreign ships, and there was a similar proclamation in the 1630's (R.G. Marsden, Law and Custom of the Sea, I. 513, n.). There was no act of parliament to the effect that British subjects robbing under foreign commissions were to be treated as pirates until the statute 11 & 12 W. III c. 7 & 8 (W.O. Russell, A Treatise on Crimes and Misdemeanors, 2 vols., 1819, pp. 135-6).

letters of reprisal.[1] The only commissions issued between 1604 and 1625 were for the capture of pirates.[2] Any Englishman who sailed under a commission from a foreign power cannot have been under the illusion that he would be treated as a privateer rather than as a pirate.

Later in the century, Sir Leoline Jenkins attempted to draw the fine distinction between the privateer and the pirate:

> In time of war a man may seize and despoyle an enemie with or without commission, and is bound to give an account to his prince only, provided no ... against the usage of war be committed. Commissions of reprisall are granted, a debt being due or wrong done, and complaint being made thereof for redress to those who did the wrong, and no satisfaction being made or unjustly (?) detained for the same; but then he that obtains this commission must take care that his commission be valid, that he hath a just debt and that he is not satisfied, that his commission be not forfeited, that goods be not embezzled before judgement, for concealment of goods before they are judged prize is a forfeiture, and if his commission be any way void or be forfeited he shall be judged a pirate.[3]

In the early seventeenth century, prize law was still in a state of flux, and it is difficult to determine what acts would invalidate a commission and result in criminal proceedings. Of course enemy ships were always lawful prize, even if the captor

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1 A MacFadyen, 'Anglo-Spanish Relations 1603-25', (Liverpool Univ. M.A. thesis, 1960), p. 151.

2 Infra, p. 300 et seq.

3 R.G. Marsden, (ed.) Reports of Cases Determined by the High Court of Admiralty and upon Appeal Therefrom .... 1885, p.256.

had no commission, while neutral goods captured in enemy bottoms were also likely to be declared lawful. The situation was, however, uncertain where neutral shipping was concerned. Neutral ships were liable to be stayed and searched by properly licensed English privateers and even attacked if they refused to comply, but such action was only justifiable if the prize court decided that the English privateer had 'good reason' to suspect the neutral vessel of carrying contraband. If a privateer seized the goods of friendly countries, or tried to extract confessions that such goods were contraband, or even if he broke bulk before his prize was declared good, then he was likely to be indicted for piracy.[1]

Sir Leoline Jenkins' definition of pirates as '<u>hostes humanis generis</u>' would have been satisfactory if there had been general agreement amongst states on what constituted a pirate, but in the seventeenth century, international law was only in embryo, and a spoil which was condemned as piracy in one country might be totally acceptable in another. For example, the difficulties in condemning as a pirate a man who received succour in Barbary were pointed out by Alberico Gentili, the Spanish advocate in the English admiralty court from 1605 to 1608:

> To pirates and wild beasts no territory offers safety. Pirates are the enemies of all men and are attacked by all men with impunity ... Therefore in the case of the pirates, we may say that they could not have escaped, since they are always subject to capture everywhere. But the same statement may not be made of enemies who are not everywhere subject to capture, /for instance/ not with a common friend.[2]

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1 For a general description of the state of prize law in the 1620's, see Marsden, <u>Law and Custom of the Sea</u>, I. 428.

2 Gentili, <u>op. cit.</u>, II. 18.

This raised the question of whether countries which sheltered pirates were in fact 'pirate states', outside the laws and practices of civilized nations. In the early seventeenth century, the legal standing of the states of Barbary in particular was in dispute. For most Englishmen the words Turk and pirate were synonymous. Were the ports of Barbary mere collections of pirates, gathered together for mutual convenience, or were they organized states with sovereign heads, worthy of correspondence and treaties? During the first two decades of the century, renegades from northern Europe found sanctuary in North Africa, especially at Algiers and Tunis, whence they were able to continue their marauding. A later English author wrote in disgust, that 'at the first Establishment of their /the Barbary Corsairs'/ Predecessors, who were a set of discontented Mariners and other Rake-hells and Debanchees of all Nations, it was not thought fit in warring with them to allow them the Privileges granted to other States or civil Societies of Men'.[1] Yet the states of Barbary were tacitly recognised by England during these years. Morocco, Tunis and Algiers all came under the control of Constantinople and owed allegiance to the Grand Signor with whom England had enjoyed diplomatic relations since Elizabeth's reign. The paradoxical situation was that the states of Barbary willingly traded with the merchants of Christian nations whilst at the same time harbouring pirates who indiscriminately plundered the ships of

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1 The Laws, Ordinances and Institutions of the Admiralty of Great Britain, Civil and Military, 2 vols., 1767, I. 224.

those nations.[1] For example, the corsairs of Tunis continually preyed on Venetian vessels trading with Turkish ports, although Venice was at peace with Turkey and consequently with Tunis, one of her dependencies.

The legality of the states of Barbary posed a problem for the English government which it would have preferred to ignore if at all possible.[2] Sir Robert Mansell's failure to subdue the 'pirate' city of Algiers in 1620-1, and the increased losses to British shipping as a result, necessitated James' ratification of a treaty to safeguard English trade, which was made between Constantinople and

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1 Algiers, Tunis and Safi were particularly attractive to English merchants because of the quantities of booty plundered from Spanish vessels which came onto the markets there. This illicit merchandise was then brought into England, where the Spanish ambassador spent a great deal of time and energy in tracing the offenders and suing them in the admiralty court. The English government refused to prohibit commerce with the ports of Barbary, despite these problems. In 1607, the Spanish ambassador had a cargo of sugar condemned which had been purchased at Safi from Moors and pirates. However, no further action was taken, 'the judge answering that he did not wish to obstruct the trade of Barbary and that the revenues (le fisque) of the Moors ought to have good place here and every favour'. /H.M.C. Salisbury, XIX. 169, Spanish ambassador to James (3 July 1607)/.

2 A decision on the legal standing of Morocco had to be made in 1613, when a jew named Palaschi brought some Spanish prizes into Plymouth and was prosecuted by the Spanish ambassador. Palaschi, who had a commission from the Prince of Orange, was also the ambassador of the king of Morocco. The Privy Council decided that he was not a pirate since he had letters of marque and Morocco was at war with Spain. Thus, Morocco was seen as a legitimate state, although Sir Edward Coke had mixed feelings on the subject. Palaschi was even permitted to sue the Spaniards for £30,000 damages in the English admiralty court, a concession which so disgusted the Spanish ambassador, that he swore he would never pursue any more claims in the court. /R.G. Marsden, 'The High Court of Admiralty in Relation to National History, Commerce and the Colonisation of America, A.D. 1550-1650', T.R.H.S. XVI (1902), p. 77; Coke, Institutes, part IV. 154/

Algiers and Tunis. James was careful to treat with the Grand Signor and refused to soil his hands by dealing directly with the Turkish pirates.[1] The government's resistance to having any formal diplomatic relations with Barbary was finally broken down during the Spanish War (1625-30), when England could ill afford to face a hostile power on both sides of the Straits. Yet even then, dealings with the rulers of Barbary were not undertaken without some misgivings. In 1627, the admiralty judge, Sir Henry Marten, objected to a treaty with the pirate port of Sally because he had doubts about entering 'into so strict a confederation with such defamed persons.'[2] Yet the needs of the war overrode all other considerations. In 1629 an order in Council, directed Marten to proceed against any Englishmen who spoiled Algerine shipping and a proctor was even assigned to prosecute claims in the English admiralty on Algiers' behalf.[3]

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1 The treaty was largely due to the initiative of Sir Thomas Roe, English ambassador at Constantinople, who exceeded his instructions in concluding it. Roe was diplomatic enough to stress that the capitulations, which were concluded in April 1622 and which reached James in October, were an agreement between Turkey and the pirate ports of Tunis and Algiers, by which the latter agreed to respect the peace between Turkey and England. Thus James could help English merchants and captives in North Africa, but was saved the indignity of negotiating directly with pirates (S.P. 97/8/141, 149-50, Calvert to Roe, 11 April 1622, Roe to James, 28 April 1622). Nevertheless, ratification of the treaty was in doubt, for on 12 July 1623, Carleton informed Chamberlain that 'Sir Thomas Roe is in danger of being disavowed in concluding a truce with the pirates of Algiers' (C.S.P. Dom. 1623-5, p. 13), but by August 1623 James had consented to confirm the articles of peace (C.S.P. Dom. 1623-5, p. 56).

2 H.M.C. Cowper, I. 316, Marten to Sir John Coke, 20 August 1627.

3 Marsden, Law and Custom of the Sea, I. 454-5. The Council acted after the earl of Warwick and some London merchants had ships and goods worth £30,000 stayed at Algiers, as reprisal for some spoils committed on Algerine vessels by Englishmen.

Even if Algiers, Tunis, Sally and the other ports of Barbary had been recognized as 'civilized' states, it is still doubtful whether their easy-going interpretation of prize law could have been justified by European standards. De Montmorency has argued that even the formal support of a recognized state does not excuse a piracy, since,

> It is unreal to hold that acts, which committed by individuals without authority would be criminal, cease to be criminal if authorized by a sovereign state.[1]

In any case, the position of Englishmen who used the ports of North Africa as a base for their depredations was never in doubt in England. They were always treated as pirates if they were caught, in the same way as was any other Englishman who served a foreign country at sea.[2]

After 1604, one area still remained where English subjects could commit depredations with little fear of repercussions at home. A state of undeclared war existed between Spain and England 'beyond the line', an imaginary division drawn by a papal bull of Alexander IV precluding all other nations except Spain from that part of the world to the west of the Azores and to the north of the Tropic of Capricorn.[3] In Spanish eyes, all interlopers who ventured west of the line were no better than pirates and were likely to be treated as such. The peace negotiations between Spain

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1 J.E.G. de Montmorency, 'Piracy and the Barbary Corsairs', The Law Quarterly Review, XXXV (1919), p. 141.

2 E.g. Captain Robert Walsingham, sentenced to death for commanding a Turkish ship in a piracy on the Susan Constance of London in 1615 (H.C.A. 1/6/191), or William Rompps, a Worcestershire gunmaker, sentenced to hang for serving in a Turkish man-of-war which committed piracies on Portuguese, Tuscan and Scottish vessels in 1624 (H.C.A. 1/7/ 47-9).

3 Neville Williams, Captains Outrageous, 1961, p. 117.

and England in 1603-4 had almost reached a stalemate over Spain's pretended hegemony in the New World, and in the end the Treaty of London had left the question unsettled. Certainly, the English government did not think that the Treaty had imposed any special restrictions. Cecil believed English rights in the New World to be as strong as ever, and when the Venetian ambassador told James that some men considered the Treaty to have excluded English merchants from 'beyond the line', the King simply replied that they were mistaken and that the meaning was quite clear.[1]

There was little danger that Englishmen who took prizes 'beyond the line' would ever have to face charges of piracy at home. There was a continual conflict in the Americas and the Indies between the major European nations, and almost any prize could be justified. Trading and piracy were a logical combination, and right largely depended on politics and power. In 1612, William Squires was sent to Brazil by John Eldred, a London merchant, as chief merchant factor aboard the Mary Anne of London. Eldred instructed Squires to persuade the crew to turn to piracy, promising that no harm would result, for he was 'soe farre in favour with many of the Lordes of the Privy Councell.'[2] Again, later in James' reign, Buckingham laid claim to one tenth of some Portuguese ships captured in the Far East by the East India Company, threatening to charge the Company with piracy - but only if it refused to pay him his droits as lord admiral.[3]

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1 MacFadyan, op. cit., pp. 91, 93.

2 H.C.A. 13/98/ 131-5: 3-5 November 1613.

3 Samuel R. Gardiner, History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War 1603-1642, 10 vols., 1900, V. 238-40.

Although the English admiralty strictly condemned any Englishman who served under a foreign commission in the eastern Atlantic or the Mediterranean, there seems to have been no such restriction west of the line where Englishmen sailed under Dutch, French or Italian letters of marque and preyed upon Spanish or Turkish shipping. The distinction between European waters and the seas of the New World was understood by Sir Ferdinando Gorges. On 18 May 1605, he wrote to Cecil, urging him to ask Holland to refrain from issuing Englishmen with commissions east of the Canaries and the Azores, although he was not so concerned with Commissions to the west:

> For beyond those Isles it is not known that his Majesty has league or alliance neither may his subjects trade with any of those people but at their hazard and extreme adventure, and therefore those the less to be excepted against for their enterprises.[1]

The lack of concern by the government for depredations committed 'beyond the line', is reflected in the fact that only two cases of New World piracy were tried by the English admiralty between 1603 and 1640.[2]

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1 H.M.C. Salisbury, XVII. 211.

2 Several Englishmen were indicted for serving in a French ship which plundered two Portuguese vessels west of the Azores in 1614 by virtue of letters of marque issued by the governor of Dieppe (H.C.A. 1/6/140-1, 13/98/232: 7 October 1614) and four English sailors from the Flying Joan of London were indicted for a piracy on a Portuguese ship on the coast of Brazil in 1615 but they were acquitted. (H.C.A. 1/6/173.)

The contemporary legal definition of a pirate which was in use in the English admiralty has been adopted for the purposes of this thesis. Briefly, a pirate was one who violently dispossessed a ship's master of his vessel or any part of its goods and tackle within the jurisdiction of the lord high admiral of England. No Englishmen could exculpate his crimes by pleading that he was acting under a legal commission from a foreign prince, although the court was willing to acquit foreigners on these grounds, unless they appeared to be 'otherwise notable pirates'.[1] This definition may err on the conservative side, because the court took little account of piracy 'beyond the line' - if indeed there was such a thing - but it is a broad definition in that it includes riverside piracies, some of which were little more than petty pilfering. This thesis then, is mainly concerned with the activities of English pirates in the seas of the Old World, although the geographical boundary has been extended when necessary to give a fuller picture of the pirates' operations.

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1 H.M.C. Cowper, II, 31, Marten to Coke, 20 September 1633. Marten was referring to Spanish 'Biscayners', who were plundering Dutch shipping in English waters under Spanish letters of marque.

CHAPTER II

THE HIGH COURT OF ADMIRALTY AND THE CRIME OF PIRACY

Throughout medieval times the procedure for the trial of pirates in England had remained unsatisfactory. Since pirates committed their offences outside the body of a county, these did not necessarily fall within the cognizance of the common law. In the early fourteenth century pirates were also tried by the king's council, by the lord chancellor, or even by special piracy commissions.[1]

After 1361, pirates were usually tried before the court of the lord admiral, according to the principles of the civil law which prevailed there.[2] Yet the civil law also proved ineffectual in dealing with cases of piracy, especially since convicted offenders were able to escape by pleading benefit of clergy. It was not until the reign of Henry VIII that the procedure for the trial of pirates in England was finally established on a firm basis. Two similar statutes of 1536 provided for the trial of pirates by jury, in accordance with common law.[3] Thus, after 1536, pirates were tried, to all intents and purposes, as though their crimes had been committed on land. The preamble to the second statute of 1536 concerning piracy is worth quoting at length, since it demonstrates how piracy litigation had formerly been bedevilled by other inherent deficiencies in the civil law,

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1 R.G. Marsden (ed.), Select Pleas in the Court of Admiralty, 2 vols., Selden Society VI (1894), XI (1897), I. xv, xli.

2 In 1361, a commission of oyer and terminer in a case of piracy and murder was recalled from trial by common law because it was triable before the lord admiral (ibid., I. xlv).

3 27 Hen. VIII. c. 4 and 28 Hen. VIII. c. 15 (Statutes of the Realm, III. 533, 671).

> ... the nature whereof is that before any judgement of Death caune be yeven ayenst the Offendours, either they must playnly confesse their offences (which they will never doo without torture or paynes) or els their offences be so playnly and directly proved by witnes indifferente, suche as sawe their offences commytted, which cannot be gotten but by chaunce at fewe tymes, by cause suche offendours comyt their offences uppon the See, and at many tymes murder and kill suche persons being in the Shipp or Bote, where they commytt their offences, which shuld wytnes ayenst them in that behalfe, and also suche as shulde bere witnes be commonly Maryners and Shipmen, whiche by cause of their often viages and passages in the Sees departe without long tarying and protraction of tyme, to the great cost and charges as well of the Kynges Highnes as suche as wolde pursue such offendours.[1]

The increased efficiency of the admiralty court in criminal cases resulting from the acts of 1536, and the growth in prize and instance matters during the later sixteenth century, transformed the admiralty court into an effective tribunal for the trial of pirates. By the beginning of the seventeenth century the court had emerged with considerably enhanced prestige.[2] From 1537, the criminal records of the court are continuous, with one hiatus between 1578 and 1585, when the ordinary commissions of oyer and terminer were superseded by the appointment of special commissioners for the suppression of piracy.

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1 Ibid., III, 671. The act did not enlarge the admiral's jurisdiction or alter the penalties for convicted pirates (Russell, A Treatise on Crimes and Misdemeanors, I. 147).

2 Marsden noticed an increase in the court's jurisdiction in commercial and maritime affairs as early as 1524. There was also an increase of power in patents given to lord admirals about this time - especially the patent given to Prince Henry, duke of Richmond in 1525 (Marsden, Select Pleas, I. lvii).

Under the statutes of 1536, admiralty sessions were held whenever necessary, by virtue of a commission of oyer and terminer, issued under the great seal and directed to the lord admiral or to his lieutenant deputy, the admiralty judge. The only exception to this were the Cinque Ports, where pirates could be tried by a commission issued directly to the lord warden.[1] A quorum of at least four commissioners was required before a sessions could begin. Apart from the judge of the admiralty, these commissioners included some 'substanciall persons' named by the lord chancellor, some of whom were always, in practice, judges of the common law.[2]

Since the new court of oyer and terminer ranked as an assize, every county and every borough which constituted a separate county was entitled to its own commission.[3] Nevertheless, cases of piracy were usually heard before the High Court of Admiralty, which had been

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1 In 1526, the jurisdiction of the Cinque Ports extended from Shoebury, Essex to Fairlegh, Sussex and up the Thames as far as Shellness in the Isle of Sheppey (ibid., II. xxx).

2 Russell, op. cit., I. 147.

3 Edwin Welch (ed.), The Admiralty Court Book of Southampton (Southampton Records Series XIII, 1968), p. xix. Welch gives the boroughs entitled to a separate commission as Bristol, Kingston-upon-Hull, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Southampton, York and perhaps Exeter. Pirates were certainly tried at Exeter and also at Plymouth (H.C.A. 13/97/91, 241: 12 December 1607, 16 November 1608). In 1608, Great Yarmouth purchased confirmation of her charter, exempting her from the lord admiral's jurisdiction and giving the town the right to try pirates. For these privileges, Nottingham received twenty barrels of herrings and fifty couples of ling a year for life. However, only three minor cases appear to have been heard in Yarmouth - in 1613, 1615 and 1617 (Henry Manship, The History of Great Yarmouth, ed. Charles John Palmer, 2 vols., Great Yarmouth, 1854-6, I. 61, 260-1).

sitting at Southwark since the early fifteenth century.[1] Although commissions to deal with maritime offences sat regularly in the country, pirates only appear to have been tried outside London under exceptional circumstances. This was probably because piracy, being the most serious maritime offence, was dealt with in London whenever possible. It may also have been connected with the fact that a commission of oyer and terminer had to be paid for, whereas the king's other commissions did not.[2] In 1636, when the plague was raging in the capital, it was decided to hold the trial of some Turkish pirates at Winchester, for which purpose, Thomas Wogan, registrar of the High Court, was sent to Winchester to instruct the authorities in the conduct of the trial. The novelty of a provincial sessions to try pirates is demonstrated by the fact that Sir Henry Marten, the admiralty judge, was concerned that justice might not be done in this case, because 'most of the Vice-Admirals are ignorant.'[3]

The few pirates who were tried in the provinces probably stood a better chance of acquittal, especially if they were local men. The bailiff and town council of Southwold, Suffolk, were reluctant to obey a warrant from the High Court directing them to send Captain Pin, a

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1 Marsden, Law and Custom of the Sea, I. xiii-xiv; Select Pleas, I.li. Commissions of oyer and terminer were often issued outside London to all counties of England, but the duties of the commissioners embraced all types of maritime misdemeanors and they rarely appear to have been concerned with piracy.

2 At least, this was the contention of John Griffiths, vice-admiral of North Wales (C.S.P. Dom. 1633-4, p.484, Griffiths to Nicholas, 1 March 1634).

3 W. Senior, Naval History in the Law Courts, 1927, pp. 20-1. It was probably due to the plague, that the Committee of Lords and Commons, in 1635, ordered every vice-admiral to procure a commission of oyer and terminer to try pirates under the acts of 1536 (Baker, The Office of Vice-Admiral of the Coast, p. 95). Of course, when pirates were tried in the country, vice-admirals were leading candidates to sit on the commission.

Southwold man, to London. Rather, they hoped to get him off by trying him in front of a local jury.[1] However, Pin was finally taken to London and condemned. Captain Fall, another pirate, was tried at Exeter and was acquitted by a petty jury. In this case the misconduct of the trial was so blatant that the whole jury were summoned before the High Court and Fall himself was brought to London, re-tried and executed.[2] Provincial trials only occurred spasmodically, and when they did, the officials of the High Court seem to have kept them under close surveillance.

R.O. Moore believed that certain towns impeded the execution of justice by contesting the right of the lord admiral to try pirates who were captured within their own boundaries.[3] There is scant evidence for such a view. In 1614, the mayor of Southampton refused to surrender some pirates to the earl of Nottingham on the grounds that they had to stand trial in his city, but his reason for doing so was to save further expense and delay, and there appears to have been no intention to usurp the jurisdiction of the lord admiral.[4] Bristol certainly showed no desire to proceed to the trial of pirates. In November 1612, twelve men were held in Newgate Prison, Bristol, nnder suspicion of piracy, but the councillors of the city were anxious to unload their burden on the High Court in London, for they wrote to the recorder:

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1 H.C.A. 1/46/210-1: 5 November 1605.

2 B.M. Lansd. MS. 142, f. 225; H.C.A. 1/5/4-9. Fall was hanged on 25 May 1604.

3 Moore, 'Some Aspects of English Piracy', pp. 52-4.

4 J.W. Horrocks (ed.), The Assembly Books of Southampton, (Southampton Record Society), 3 vols. 1917-24, III. viii-ix. Under the act of 1536, admiralty commissioners had power to enquire into piracies committed 'even in townes of liberty that are Admiralties within themselves'. (B.M. Harl. MS. 5089, f.46).

> ... for the Removinge of the Pyrates to London And yf it Cannot be obtayned then to trye them by vertue of the Kinge's Commission heretofore graunted for tryall of pyrates in bristoll and not as yet to renewe the same Commission.[1]

Although the Henrician statutes had made the conviction of pirates in England more certain than in medieval times, there still remained several impediments to the easy working of the legal machinery. In the first place, the acts did not extend to Ireland, so that pirates captured there were still tried by civil law. Thus, unless the pirates were sent over to England, it was difficult to execute justice on them. This anomalous situation remained to plague the Irish authorities until 1613, when the trial of pirates was brought into line with English law.[2]

Secondly, the statutes of 1536 did not deal effectively with aiders and abettors of pirates on dry land. Accessories had always been leniently treated at law, because they could not be tried until the principals to their crimes had been convicted.[3] Thus, if a pirate died, refused to plead, or was never brought to justice, then his accomplices were safe from any legal proceedings. However, by omitting to mention accessories, the acts of 1536 raised the whole question of whether they could be tried at all. Aiders and abettors of pirates could not be tried by the admiralty because their offences were committed within the body of a county, and this was outside the

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1 Bristol Record Office, Common Council Proceedings, 1608-27, ff. 30, 32. Nottingham gave order on 13 January 1613 for the twelve pirates to be brought to London. Nine had been brought to Bristol from Ireland and two from Newfoundland (H.C.A.14/42/37).

2 By the act 11, 12 and 13 Jac. 1 c.2. See D.E.C. Yale, 'A Historical Note on the Jurisdiction of the Admiralty in Ireland', The Irish Jurist, new series, III, part i (1968), p.149. There was an attempt to draft a commission under the Henrician act for execution in Ireland, but the difficulties were such that the Irish act was passed instead.

3 William Blackstone, Commentaries on the Laws of England, 4 vols., Oxford, 1773, IV. 323.

jurisdiction of the admiralty court; neither could they be tried by common law, since the principals to their crimes were always tried in the admiralty court.[1] Accessories could not technically be brought to trial until William III's reign, when an act made them triable within the terms of the acts of 1536 and liable to the same penalties as their principals.[2]

During the early seventeenth century, this question remained largely academic, because the admiralty continued to try accessories as if they came within the terms of the acts of 1536. Indeed, if aiders and abettors had not been prosecuted, the suppression of piracy would have been an impossible task, for anyone who was guilty of financing, sheltering, assisting or receiving from pirates would have been able to do so with impunity. Even so, the admiralty's action aroused some legal unrest. In 1609 a bill was preferred in Star Chamber against Sir Richard Hawkins, vice-admiral of Devon, charging him with receiving, aiding and comforting William Hull and other notorious pirates and receiving bribes to free them. The case was subsequently referred to two chief justices and the chief baron, who decided that acts committed within the body of a county were outside the admiral's jurisdiction.[3] Such a decision certainly did not endear itself to Sir Julius Caesar. He stated his case in a paper dated 8 October 1610 entited: 'Whether Accessories to pyracy bee liable, in the Admirall Court ? Yes, Undoubtedly.'[4] This was prompted by the case of a Plymouth man who had harboured and abetted an English pirate who had stolen ten

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1 Even Coke admitted that common law had no cognizance of crimes for which the principals could only be tried in the admiralty (The Reports of Sir Edward Coke, part XIII. 54).

2 11 Gul. III. c. 7 s. x (Statutes of the Realm, VII. 592). Accessories were made principals by the statute 8 Geo. I. c.24. See Russell, op. cit., I. 140-1.

3 The Reports of Sir Edward Coke, part XIII. 51-2.

4 B.M. Lansd. MS. 145, f.1.

pieces of velvet worth £100 from a French merchant. Caesar saw the whole question of accessories as an 'absurdus intellectus of the comon Lawe.' He pointed out that accessories had been tried and executed by the admiralty court for two hundred years and that judges of the common law had sat on piracy commissions since 1536. He cited a case of Henry IV's reign which showed that 'accessories sequitur naturam sui principalis And is alwaies to be tryed in that Court to which the examanacon of the principall cause doeth properly apperteyne.' If this were not the case, then he thought that:

> It were a monstrous conclusion that there should bee noe lawe in England to putt those villanes to deathe ...[1]

Besides he argued that if accessories were outside the law, it was indeed strange that they should always have been included in the pardons of principals. Caesar was forced to state his case in emotive language because the acts of 1536 had indeed left a loophole in the law of piracy. However, the intention of the acts was clear, and the admiralty court continued to interpret them with regard to accessories as it felt fit. However unsound Caesar's arguments might have been, aiders and abettors continued to be tried by the admiralty throughout both James' and Charles' reigns.

No account of a piracy trial has come to light from the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, but from surviving evidence it is possible to piece together a fairly full picture of an admiralty sessions in London. Proceedings were set in motion by the issue of a statutory commission of oyer and terminer which named the commissioners who were to preside at the sessions. Precepts of venire facias were then sent in the admiral's name to the sheriffs of London and Surrey, directing

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1 Ibid., f. 13.

them to summon and impanel men for jury service. Precepts were also sent to the marshal of the admiralty, instructing him to post notice of the forthcoming sessions on one of the pillars of the Royal Exchange and to undertake gaol deliveries of the prisoners who were to be tried.

During the first half of the seventeenth century the court met in the Sessions House at Southwark. Only proctors or advocates who were the practitioners of the civil law maritime were allowed to practice in the court.[1] Their chambers were at Doctors' Commons, in the shadow of old Saint Pauls[2] and the admiralty judge was himself drawn from their numbers. It had already been established in the sixteenth century that the court enjoyed a continuous existence, even when the office of lord high admiral was vacant.[3] There is no evidence that the admiral himself ever presided over a piracy commission, but all warrants and precepts were issued in his name and under his seal of office.[4]

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1 E.S. Roscoe, The Admiralty Jurisdiction and Practice, 1931, pp. 4-5. Civil law had become established in the admiralty because the principles of Roman law were more applicable to the settlement of maritime disputes, to which the common law, with its merely territorial incidence, was technically inapplicable. The civil lawyers were supported by James himself in their struggle to preserve their jurisdiction in maritime affairs. (W. Senior, Doctors' Commons and the Old Court of Admiralty, 1922, pp. 59, 84). For the introduction and growth of civil law in the admiralty, see two articles by W. Senior: 'The First Admiralty Judges' and 'Admiralty Matters in the Fifteenth Century', both printed in The Law Quarterly Review, XXXV (1919).

2 E.S. Roscoe, Studies in the History of Admiralty and Prize Courts, 1932, p. 12.

3 Marsden, Select Pleas, II. xii.

4 Baker, op. cit., p. 31, n.

Men arrested on suspicion of piracy were usually incarcerated in the Marshalsea prison to await their trial. Although bail was granted to accessories, it was never extended to pirates once they had been indicted.[1] Examinations of the accused and of other witnesses in the case were recorded prior to the trial at Doctors' Commons before the judge or his deputies. These statements or interrogations were carefully recorded in the books of criminal examinations, which were then taken to the trial and used by the prosecution, although they had been taken in camera and did not constitute viva voce evidence at common law.[2]

The ceremony of the court had probably changed little by the end of the seventeenth century. Two officers entered the court-room, one carrying the silver oar of the admiralty and the other Henry VIII's commission to hold an admiralty sessions. They were followed by the commissioners, doctors of law, advocates, proctors and others.[3] Before the judges could hear the case, a presentment had to be made on an indictment by the grand jury, which consisted of up to twenty-three jurors, twelve constituting a majority. It was the duty of the grand jury to decide whether there was enough evidence for a case to be prosecuted and they accordingly returned a true bill (billa vera), or found the case not proven (ignoramus), the verdict usually being recorded on the reverse side of the indictments. The judges could only proceed to trial on a true bill found by a grand jury at the same assize.[4] The case was then tried by a petty jury of twelve

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1 Gentili even argued that the judge could not grant bail at all in a criminal case (Gentili, Hispanicae Advocationis, p. 31a).

2 Baker, op. cit., p. 121.

3 Ibid., p. 37, n.

4 W.R. Anson, The Law and Custom of the Constitution, 2 vols., 1892, II. 420-1.

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men, the accused being convicted only by a unaminous verdict.[1]

The pirate arraigned in the dock had three alternatives: he could confess his guilt, plead not guilty, or stand dumb, refusing either to answer the charge or to go for trial. Any man convicted of piracy forfeited his lands and chattels to the lord admiral by virtue of the specific provision to that effect in the statute of 1536.[2] However, by standing mute, a pirate could cheat the law, for he could not be attainted if he refused to plead. The punishment for such contumacious behaviour was to be taken from the court and pressed to death by the barbaric ritual of peine fort et dure.

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1 A foreigner arraigned for piracy could choose to be tried by a mixed jury composed half of Englishmen and half of foreigners. The popularity of this alternative was drastically reduced since the accused could not choose the nationality of the foreigners. Nevertheless, a verdict of ignoramus, was returned by a mixed jury on the indictment against William la Mott and the French members of his crew (H.C.A.1/60/40).

2 There was some legal dispute as to whether a convicted pirate should suffer corruption of blood. The question turned on whether piracy was a felony carrying attaint. Although the statute of 1536 made piracy that act which if committed on land would have amounted to a felony, it did not make piracy a felony at common law. Therefore, a general pardon of all felonies was held by all the judges of England not to extend to piracy, for which a specific pardon had to be obtained (Russell, op. cit., II. 135; Coke, Third Part of the Institutes, p. 112). However, the question was largely academic, since the main consequences of corruption of blood - loss of lands and chattels - followed conviction under the provision in the statute 28 Hen. VIII c. 15 (Statutes of the Realm, III. 671).

By dying thus, a pirate could at least prevent the forfeiture of his lands, for as Sir Edward Coke observed, peine fort et dure 'worketh no attainder for the felony, nor forfeiture of his lands, or corruption of bloud.'[1] However, the most likely reason that a pirate would stand mute was because he wished to shield his friends and accessories, who could not be convicted until he himself had been.[2] Then as now, there was a strong feeling amongst criminals against divulging the names of accomplices. Richard Boniton, a Cornishman, examined in the admiralty concerning certain men who had boarded a pirate ship, replied that:

> ... hee sawe sundry gentlemen ... when he was on bord, whose names he is loth to discover, for that he would not be accompted to bee an informer.[3]

The greatest obstacle to securing the conviction of a pirate derived, however, from a peculiarity of English law. This was brought to the attention of Nicolo Molin, the Venetian ambassador, on his arrival at the English court in 1604, after he himself had been robbed by pirates. He told how, at an audience with James,

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1 Edward Coke, The First Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England, ed. Francis Hargrave and Charles Butler, 3 vols., 1744, II sect. 745.

2 The following sentence was passed on Philip Warde, who was pressed to death along with Thomas Pin: 'Dictus Philip Warde contumaciter stetit mutus ac sententia mortis ea lata sit ut haberet penam fortem et duram et postidie, vizt. tertio July 1605, infra carcerem Marescaltie morti pressus erat.' (H.C.A. 1/5/65). Caesar had advised Salisbury that this punishment should be carried through, for 'The late pardon at the French Ambassador's entreaty of a man adjudged to be pressed to death, has bred an exceeding evil, if present sharpness should not be shown to others of like boldness in refusing ordinary trial.' (H.M.C. Salisbury, XVII. 295-6, 2 July 1605).

3 H.C.A. 1/47/297: 13 July 1612.

> I took the occasion to mention my own private loss, which I suffered through the robbery of my effects on their way from Venice to England. After great difficulty I succeeded in capturing two of the culprits, but law here is very different from that in other countries, and, I think, not quite reasonable, for here, if you proceed against the person of a thief you may not proceed against his property and vice versa. I told his Majesty that I thought such a law too favourable to robbers and something like an invitation to become such, for they have only to restore the stolen goods or a part of it to save their lives. "Quite true," said the King. "They are barbarous laws, unworthy of a civilized people and contrary to the ius gentium; but what can I do? I found them in force when I came to the throne."[1]

What Molin was in fact complaining about was not, as Moore mistakenly believed, that it was impossible to proceed against a pirate and his property at the same time.[2] Indeed, parallel civil and criminal proceedings were quite permissible under English law.[3] Molin's real objection was that if he instigated criminal proceedings against the culprits, this did not automatically set in motion proceedings for the recovery of his property, as was the case on the continent by virtue of the process now known as partie civile. This meant that abroad, an aggrieved merchant could start criminal proceedings (denunciation) with a view to securing restoration of his property, in the same action as that in which he

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1 C.S.P. Ven. 1603-07, pp. 152-3, Molin to Doge and Senate, 26 May 1604.

2 Moore, op. cit., p. 60.

3 Gentili, op. cit., I. 31a.

secured the criminal's punishment.[1] In England this was impossible. Criminal proceedings were purely punitive and any losses could only be recovered by the injured party by means of a separate suit in the civil sector of the admiralty court. Thus, conviction for piracy ended in the pirate's death and forfeiture of his property to the lord admiral, but his booty could only be recovered, by the true owners, in separate proceedings, in which they had to show that the goods belonged to them and not to the pirate. This was clearly a tedious business which was little favoured by merchants and other injured parties.

If this had been the whole story, it is doubtful whether any merchants would ever have started any criminal proceedings against pirates at all, since their main interest lay in recovering their property, not in punishing the offenders.[2] However, many foreign merchants in England relentlessly pursued the men who had robbed them, with a view to securing their arrest and bringing them to trial. The reason for this was that the criminal sector of the English admiralty had a built-in system of compensation on conviction, which went some way to providing a substitute for the continental system of <u>partie civile</u>. Once a pirate had been arrested - or even while he was still at large - negotiations to save his life were often conducted between him and the parties he had injured, in order that some agreeable 'composition' might be reached, whereby his pursuers would waive criminal proceedings in return for satisfactory

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1 A. Esmein, <u>A History of Continental Criminal Procedure</u>, 1914, pp. 99-100, 143-4. In continental practice, the matter was never entirely taken over by the public prosecutor, since the denunciator remained a joint party to the criminal action for the purpose of claiming damages.

2 Merchants always preferred to receive compensation rather than to exact their pound of flesh. Late in 1603, Scaramelli, the Venetian secretary, sent word to Southampton to stay the execution of Walter Janverin, a pirate due to be hanged in the town, because £150 had been offered for his life (B.M. Lansd. MS. 140, f. 337, mayor and aldermen of Southampton to Caesar, 12 December 1603).

damages. To the pirate this was tantamount to buying his life; to the merchant this was the only effective way of forcing the pirate to disgorge his ill-gotten gains. Civil proceedings were a waste of time and money, since the pirate probably had no property - and even if he did, he was hardly likely to declare it. The merchant who looked to the civil court could normally expect little more than a useless judgement.[1]

The system of 'compositions' received the full approval of the admiralty, at least during the first decade of the century. Soon after the end of the war with Spain, Sir Julius Caesar, the admiralty judge, announced that:

> ... nowe all takings at sea are piracy, and both the principals and accessories are punishable by death, or commitment of the offendors till they have made satisfaction /my italics/[2]

The outcome of such a system was to place the course of the law in the hands of the injured parties - especially if they happened to be foreigners who had the full support of their embassy in England. In 1605, Captain William Harvy was sentenced to death for piracy, but the French ambassador intervened on the pirate's behalf and saved him from the gallows after he had agreed to come to terms.[3] So

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1 The endless delays in the civil court were mitigated to some extent by 'commissions for depredations', which were issued to provide a swifter remedy for merchants' grievances. These commissions empowered merchants to recover goods taken by pirates and subsequently brought into Britain. In practice, the lord admiral was willing to restore goods so long as proof of ownership was forthcoming, always allowing of course for deduction of any expenses incurred in recovery. (William Welwod, An Abridgement of all Sea-Lawes, 1613, p. 54.)

2 B.M.Add. MS. 5664,f. 345, Caesar to Parry, 15 February 1604.

3 Ibid., f. 423, Compte de Beaumont to Caesar, 8 April 1605.

blatant was the admiralty's neglect of capital punishment, that in 1607 it was given out that:

> ... the Judge of the Admiralty did publickly give intimation to Mr. Richardson that the said Skelton /a convicted pirate/ should prepare him selfe to dy, or agree forthwith with the French man his adversary.[1]

Such an arrangement may have been the most satisfactory means of reimbursing merchants, but it obviously had considerable drawbacks if justice was to be seen to be done. First, men who had been robbed would not bother wasting time and money chasing small fry who could offer little or nothing for their lives. Second, the more important pirate, whose depredations and fortune were more extensive, could afford to buy his life, whereas those petty offenders who were unfortunate enough to be caught were more likely to suffer the extreme penalty. Finally, it seems probable that the system led to abuse by certain opportunists, who would try to extract ready cash by accusing men who had done them no harm - regardless of whether they were pirates.[2] In October 1605, two Frenchmen named Anthony Morier and Peter Rebec, went to Doctors' Commons to have an indictment for piracy drawn up against William Harvy for goods which they supposedly had had in the Lewes Bonaventure. However, it was reported

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1 H.C.A. 1/46/328: 30 March 1607.

2 Silvester Greenslade, a Plymouth tailor, offered to go to sea to pay off a composition with a French merchant, since his profits from piracy had been so meagre (H.C.A. 1/46/296-7: 25 October 1606). Another man, Thomas Mohun, was chased for £50, twenty years after he was said to have committed a piracy, by one Ellistone, who said that he had acted after so long, because it was the first time Mohun had come into any money (H.C.A. 1/47/203: 20 June 1611). Clearly, some pirates were unable to reach a composition and lived in continual fear of being detected by the men whom they had robbed.

that Morier had no interest whatsoever in the ship, and two Provencal sailors, who were then in London, marvelled that Rebec should have framed an indictment 'for that theye thought the said Rebec had noe goods in the said shippe, nor never heard that he had any, beinge a verie poore man.'[1]

The system of compositions could have been satisfactory for the recovery of pirated goods had merchants always been allowed to use it. As it was, admiralty officials were only prepared to allow a deal between the pirates and the injured parties when it suited them to do so. Sometimes, they had strict orders to proceed against a pirate with the full rigour of the law, either because a murder had been committed in the course of the piracy, or because the government felt the need to make an example of the offenders. At other times, they could keep a pirates' booty in their own hands by forcing a criminal prosecution, which would delay restoration of the stolen goods and would be conducted at the expense of the injured party. A merchant who was subsequently forced to bring a civil action for the recovery of his property might well run into opposition, since he would be proceeding in the admiralty court against the interests of the lord admiral and his officers.

The injustice of this system was brought to the government's attention by the protracted case of Guillaume Bouillon, a French merchant of Coutances in Normandy.[2] Bouillon was the owner of the

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1 H.C.A. 1/46/ 213: 6 November 1605.

2 For this case see H.M.C. Salisbury, XX. 10-12, 14-5. The figures involved are wrongly given in thousands instead of hundreds of pounds. Bouillon had four separate indictments drawn up against several of the pirates, but none gives his total losses as more than £500. (H.C.A. 1/5/ 66, 81, 112, 124). There is a schedule of Bouillon's goods dated 20 October 1604 in the civil examinations of the court, which gives his total losses as £829 (H.C.A. 13/37/ 114).

Frances of Jersey, which was plundered off the Scilly Isles on 2 September 1604 by Thomas Pin and his men, as she was returning to Jersey from Lisbon, laden with cinnamon, wines, sugar, pepper, gold and silver coin and other merchandise, worth an estimated £829. Bouillon spent more than three years in England endeavouring to recover his goods, during which time his expenses totalled some £800 - almost as much as his original loss. Understandably, after all this delay and expense, Bouillon's chief object was to secure some compensation rather than the punishment of the offenders. He eventually succeeded in reaching a composition with Pin for £380, but Sir Julius Caesar refused to condone this arrangement and forced Bouillon to take criminal proceedings against Pin: ostensibly because the government wanted a show of justice in this case, but more likely because Sir Richard Hawkins, Caesar's friend, was implicated in the piracy. Pin was convicted and executed with indecent haste, and all his goods, which were then in the custody of the mayor of Plymouth, were forfeited to the lord admiral. Thus, all Bouillon had done by prosecuting Pin was to help the English government to execute a dangerous pirate and to enrich the lord admiral and his officers, who were the main recipients of the pirate's goods.

Faced with financial ruin, Bouillon enlisted the help of Sieur de Beaumont, the French ambassador, and petitioned the king of France to ask James to force Nottingham to restore his goods or else to pay £800 damages and all his expenses. If this was not granted, Bouillon further petitioned for permission to take reprisals against English shipping in France. 'Bouillon's petition', was presented to James by the French ambassador hearing date 9 January 1608, but it received a curt reply from the English king. James stated that Sir Julius Caesar had acted properly in forcing Bouillon to proceed criminally, since compositions only set a bad example and hindered

the true course of justice. Indeed, James suggested in his reply that if Bouillon had made a composition with the pirates, he might have been in the wrong himself, for it was doubtful,

> ... having received goods and merchandise from a pirate, or having made accord with him to surcease from the pursuit in justice, if he /Bouillon/ had not been in danger of adherent or accessory to the piracy.[1]

James was obviously critical of the whole proceedings and set up a commission to advise and report on the case.[2] It is not certain how long the government permitted compositions, but they no longer appear in official records after 1609 when Nottingham came under fire for his conduct as lord high admiral. On 16 December 1609, Sir Thomas Parry wrote to Salisbury that:

> ... the Lord Admiral's claim of right to compound with pirates cannot be warranted; the Judges are to be appealed to.[3]

It is possible that pirates and merchants continued to come to terms on their own, without the court's approval. Questioned in the admiralty in 1613, Gabriel Bonnage, a man with a long history as a pirate, said that he had bought a release for one of his crimes in the previous year, from a Dutchman named de Cuper for £19.[4]

Most pirates who were tried pleaded not guilty, but acquittals were rare. A pirate had the same rights as any other person accused of felony; that is, he had no legal representation at the trial of fact before the petty jury, although he might have counsel to argue points of law on the legal sufficiency of the indictment. I have,

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1 H.M.C. Salisbury, XX. 14.

2 The members were the lord of Kinloss, Mr. Secretary Herbert, Sir Daniel Dunn and the admiralty judge (Sir Thomas Crompton).

3 C.S.P. Dom. 1603-10, p. 573. For Nottingham's toleration of compositions, infra, p. 283.

4 H.C.A. 13/98/35: 4 March 1613.

however, been unable to find any cases of pirates being represented by counsel. On conviction, a pirate could in theory appeal to the High Court of Delegates, which was set up by a commission under the great seal to review and determine the case in question.[1] However, the only real hope of a reprieve lay in obtaining a royal pardon, which was quite common during Elizabeth and James' reigns.

Pirates whose luck had run out were hanged on the banks of the Thames at Wapping, at a spot later to be known as Execution Dock. Little time was allowed to lapse between sentence and execution. In 1608, Sir Thomas Crompton, the admiralty judge, wrote to Cecil asking him not to intervene on behalf of two hardened pirates, but pointing out that whatever Cecil's decision was, he had better make it quickly, for 'tyde taryeth no man and ye execution being this morning, appointed at lowe water and uppon the ebbe.'[2] These spectacles were organized by the marshal of the admiralty, precepts to attend being sent to the sheriffs and bailiffs. The procedure had probably changed little by the end of the century when an officer of the admiralty led the grim procession to Wapping, carrying the silver oar, symbol of the authority of the High Court of Admiralty.[3] It seems likely that executions required some organization, especially since they may not always have met with the approval of the London populace. A hurried note scribbled form Doctors' Commons on 12 October 1610, concerning an execution to take place that day, gave the following instructions, probably to the marshal of the court:

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1 Anson, op. cit., II. 418, 444.

2 S.P. 14/35/ 3, 4 July 1608.

3 Baker, op. cit., p.38, n.

> ... to take care that a sufficient garde of honest inhabitants nere Wappinge be provided and be ready at the place of execution at such tyme as the said piratts are to suffer death, to see the peace kepte and that no disorder be committed to hinder that his majesties' service and will answere the contrary at your uttermost perile ...[1]

The execution of pirates was a solemn ritual used by the government as a salutary warning to the rest of the population. Yet some condemned men still managed to cheat the gallows.[2]

This survey then, shows that by the early seventeenth century the English High Court of Admiralty had a well-developed procedure for dealing with the crime of piracy - a procedure which had certain merits as well as obvious weaknesses. The implications of the system, especially in so far as it impeded government attempts to eradicate piracy and encouraged men to become pirates, will be further illustrated in other parts of this thesis.

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1 H.C.A. 1/6/57.

2 After Captain Exton escaped from the Marshalsea, the Spanish ambassador, who had had him arrested, protested to James: 'But what! this is the least, seeing that pirates condemned to the gallows are put at liberty.' (H.M.C. Salisbury, XIX. 170). Captain Lambert was rumoured to have escaped death on the scaffold, 'having cosened, as the tale is, the rope with a false neck which his friend the hangman bestowed on him.' However, from a later report he appears to have suffered his fate (H.M.C. Downshire, II. 279, 486, Beaulieu to Trumbull, 19, 26 April 1610).

CHAPTER III

ENGLISH PIRATES IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

In the last quarter of the sixteenth century the merchants of northern Europe, and especially those of England and Holland, began to penetrate the attractive markets of the Levant. By 1580 English ships were carrying cargoes of wool, cloth, kersies, tin, grain, salt, fish and tallow to the Venetian islands of Zante, Cephalonia and Crete, and were returning home laden with wine and currants. Despite prohibitions, Venice was unable to stop her subjects from collaborating with the English interlopers.[1] English merchants also succeeded in cutting out Venetian middlemen by trading directly with the Levant, especially in cloth, and returning with their rich cargoes. England's first official contacts to gain trading concessions in Turkey were made in 1575 and capitulations were agreed five years later which were ratified in 1583. Trade flourished so much that 'after 1590 there were already many more northern than Venetian ships on the route between Venice and London or Southampton.'[2]

The political situation in the late sixteenth century was ripe for the expansion of English trade into the eastern Mediterranean. Elizabeth's approaches to the Sultan were an aspect of Anglo-Spanish rivalry in the Atlantic, designed to carry the conflict inside the Straits of Gibraltar, and her merchants were also stimulated by Dutch competition. The internal situation in the Mediterranean was particularly conducive to success. Despite the importance of the Inland Sea, there was a power vacuum, for after the battle of Lepanto

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1 Alberto Tenenti, Piracy and the Decline of Venice 1580-1615, Oxford, 1967, p.59.

2 Ibid., pp. 60-1.

in 1571, the struggle between the great fleets of Christendom and Turkey was never resumed with the same intensity, and the way was opened for the continuation of the traditional conflict on a more individual and mercenary basis - what Tenenti has called the 'war of corsairs.'[1] No country was strong enough to carry on the epic struggles of Charles V and Philip II. France possessed only a small mercantile force and was in the throes of civil war, and the position of Venice was also weak. She had been strained by her exertions against piracy in several parts of her commercial empire, and even welcomed northern interlopers in order to give vent to the resentment she felt against Spain, with a view to renewing her old trading connections with the north. Tenenti argued that:

> The Republic took no account of the altered situation or of her own weakness, and she too sought to profit from the new circumstances.[2]

English merchants certainly had no difficulty in finding states willing to encourage their ambitions. Leghorn soon emerged as one of the principal bases of trade, and the friendly Turkish ports of the Greek Archipelago and Barbary also made the English welcome.[3]

Thus, by the end of the century, England was established as a powerful trading force in the Mediterranean. Her ships, which were called bertons,[4] played a very important role. They had been tried

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1 Ibid., p. 16.

2 Ibid., p. 58.

3 Ibid.

4 They were called bertoni by the Venetians. The name was probably a corruption of 'Britania' or 'Bretagna' (C.S.P. Ven. 1592-1603, p. 413 n.). Not all bertons were English. Some were of Flemish or French build. Tenenti gives a description of a berton built at Rouen (Tenenti, op. cit., p. 171 n.10).

and tested in Atlantic waters and were an innovation in Mediterranean seacraft. They had two decks and were of a broad, round build, with three masts and seven square sails, strongly constructed with a solid hull and a deep keel, which made them stable in rough seas. They were of medium tonnage, normally about 140-200 tons, but were capable of carrying heavy armament of twenty to thirty guns. Usually crewed by about sixty men, they proved vastly superior in battle to the crowded Mediterranean gallies which were unable to carry heavy guns because of their light scantling, and whose shallow draught and low gunwales were only suited to calm weather.[1] Maffio Michiel, governor of Zante, who was bedevilled by English interlopers and pirates, grudgingly admitted that:

> They are accustomed to keep the sea even in midwinter and in the roughest weather, thanks to the handiness of their ships and the skill of their mariners.[2]

It was only a matter of time before English sea captains, hardened by privateering in the Atlantic, turned their attentions to the lucrative waters of the Mediterranean, where their ships and skills made them even more formidable. In 1598, Agostino Nani, Venetian ambassador in Spain, noted that:

> ... the English, not content with piracy on the high seas, are thinking of the Mediterranean too, where they have begun to make themselves felt.[3]

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1 C.S.P. Ven. 1592-1603, p. 413 n.; Tenenti, op. cit., p. 64. Given a galley and a berton, both of which were about 125 feet in length, the berton would have a beam of forty feet and a very high freeboard, while the galley would have a beam of only nineteen feet, and a hold of seven feet six inches. Thus the galley was slow and unable to sail on a wind. Its only advantage lay in its mobility in calm weather. (E. Hamilton Currey, Sea Wolves of the Mediterranean, 1928, pp. 160-1).

2 C.S.P. Ven. 1603-7, pp. 109-10, Michiel to Doge and Senate, 6 November 1603.

3 C.S.P. Ven. 1592-1603, p. 319, Nani to Doge and Senate, 24 April 1598.

As their trade route covered a long distance and passed close by the Spanish coast, Levant merchantmen needed to be strongly built and manned.[1] It was a short and profitable step to combine trading with piracy; indeed merchantmen and pirate ships were often indistinguishable.[2] Trading ships sailed heavily armed and carried provisions for a year, and their quarter decks and even their main decks, which would normally have been used for storing goods, were cleared for action.[3] By the end of Elizabeth's reign depredations in the Mediterranean were so numerous that every English trading vessel was suspected of piracy. There was little stigma attached to pirates in Elizabethan England, and this was especially true when their acts were committed against foreign shipping in distant seas where the probability of discovery and punishment was small.

Although ships of every nation went in fear of English pirate bertons, the Venetians suffered the greatest losses. The favourite hunting-ground of the corsairs was along the coasts of the Morea, among the islands of the Greek Archipelago and in Cretan waters. Here they were able to intercept ships on what was probably Venice's richest trading route - that between Zante and Constantinople.[4]

Two of the most infamous piracies in this area were committed by English 'privateers' who ignored Elizabeth's proclamation forbidding men-of-war to enter the Mediterranean. On the 4 December 1602,

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1 Andrews, Elizabethan Privateering, p.104. The Levant Company itself was not interested in privateering, and was unwilling to hazard the precious cargoes of its merchantmen in battle. The Company played little part in the captures taken in the Mediterranean towards the end of the war and its governor condemned 'the outrages, rapines and robberies of our English men of war'.

2 Tenenti, op. cit., p. 61.

3 C.S.P. Ven. 1592-1603, p. 433, Nani to Doge and Senate, 23 November 1600.

4 Tenenti, op. cit., p.66.

Captain William Pierce and his crew of about seventy, armed with muskets and composed mainly of Plymouth men, in the Elizabeth of that city, took the Veniera of Venice between Cerigo and Candie. Pierce had to pretend friendship to surprise the Venetian ship, for although the Elizabeth mounted twenty guns, she was described as 'a rotten old hulk.' The Veniera was returning from Alexandria with a rich cargo of indigo, pepper, flax, hides and linen cloth worth £10,000, and had as a passenger, Signor da Mosto, the retiring Venetian consul in Alexandria.[1] Soon after this capture, on 22 March 1603, Captain Thomas Tompkins and a Southampton crew in the Margaret and John, captured a Venetian argosy, the Black Balbiana, near Cyprus as she was bound for Alexandria, killing the master and some of the crew. Besides many bags of Venetian and Spanish money, the Balbiana carried a fabulous cargo of gold and silver cloth, velvet and silk, worth in all about £30,000.[2]

Venetian shipping was inadequately protected. The resources of the Republic were stretched by war with the Ushkoks which demanded that a substantial part of her fleet should remain in Dalmatian waters.[3] At first Venice's main means of combatting the threat from English bertons was only able to combat with light galleys, which were generally inferior in firepower and manoever-ability and which had to be laid up in winter, when the English pirates were most active. The attractions of plundering the ships of Venice

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1 C.S.P. Ven. 1592-1603, pp. 515-6, da Mosto to Doge and Senate, 14 January 1603, pp. 522-4, Deposition of the Master and Super-cargo of the Veniera, 15 January 1603; H.C.A. 1/5/22 (only forty-one men were indicted with Pierce and the date of the piracy was given as 13 January 1603). The value of the cargo was put as high as 100,000 ducats - £25,000 (C.S.P. Ven. 1592-1603, p. 567, Scaramelli to Doge and Senate, 7 April 1603).

2 H.C.A. 1/5/40; 1/6/43-5. In this case Scaramelli put the value of the booty at 300,000 ducats - £75,000 (C.S.P. Ven. 1603-7, p.100, Scaramelli to Doge and Senate, 5 October 1603).

3 Tenenti, op.cit., p.67. The Ushkoks were a pirate community who operated from Segna at the head of the Adriatic for more than a century after 1540 (ibid., ch.1, passim).

were such that in 1605 Captain Sackeverell [sic] boasted:

> You should come with me to the Levant, to find those sound and solid Venetian ducats which one may take without risk.[1]

In fact life was not quite as easy as that for pirates. In 1601 Venice commissioned great gallies which were more than a match for the bertons. However, even though they met with some successes in 1603, they were still unable to patrol the seas in winter.[2] When Pierce took the Veniera, the great gallies were at Corfu because their crews were sick, and the provedore of Zante had the humiliating task of asking the captains of three English ships to help him chase the pirates - which they refused to do.[3]

After many months at sea, pirate crews were often desperate to take a prize, even for the victuals they would find on board. They had the advantage of fighting for personal gain, usually outgunning and outmanning their prey, whereas the men who defended trading ships were often protecting the property of someone else, which was probably, in any case, insured. It is hardly surprising that merchantmen frequently offered little resistance. In England, pirates could excuse their crimes by saying that they were not really injuring the men whom they robbed, while the insurers who bore the brunt of English depredations often neglected to press their claims. Giovanni Scaramelli, Venetian secretary in London, believed that

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1 C.S.P. Ven. 1603-7, p. 212, Nicolo Molin to Doge and Senate, 26 January 1605.

2 Tenenti, op. cit., pp. 68-9. In 1603 the great gallies had succeeded in taking the Golden Dove, captain Roderick Scut, and the Angel, captain Thomas Garner.

3 Ibid., p. 68.

> ... this piracy has grown because there is a firm opinion here that all Venetians are secured fully, and sometimes for more than the value of the capital embarked, and the underwriters, either because they are isolated, or else occupied in more important affairs, neglect to press their just claims.[1]

English pirates were able to dispose of their booty in the Turkish ports of the Morea (especially at Patras, Corone and Modone), or else in Barbary. As long as England remained at war with Spain, the Grand Signor did not even utilise what little control he had over his subjects. Francesco Contarini, Venetian ambassador at the Porte, told how the Grand Vizier had unsuccessfully urged the execution of the governor of Modone for being in league with pirates.[2] In fact there was an enquiry into corruption at Modone after the populace had freed some English prisoners who were charged with piracy,[3] but the sanjuk of the Morea, who was in charge of the investigation, had openly encouraged pirates himself.[4]

It was particularly frustrating for Venetian officials to see the corsairs so well received in the nearby Turkish ports. Maffio Michiel, governor of Zante, who was 'probably the most active of the high-ranking officials in the Ionian region', determined to take some action to punish the English. In April 1603 he induced the master of an English ship to surrender two of his crew who were suspected of piracy, although Michiel himself was convinced that 'there is not a sailor of that nation but is a pirate.'[5] His fears proved justified,

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1 C.S.P. Ven. 1603-7, p.91, Scaramelli to Doge and Senate, 11 September 1603. For the effect of piracy on insurance rates, see infra, p.335, et seq.

2 Ibid., pp. 57, 73, Contarini to Doge and Senate, 28 June, 2 August 1603.

3 Ibid., p. 177, Contarini to Doge and Senate, 28 August 1604.

4 Ibid., p. 46, Michiel to Doge and Senate, 9 June 1603.

5 Ibid., p. 13, Michiel to Doge and Senate, 29 April 1603.

for he was unable to prevent the English ship from sailing, and it immediately took a Venetian prize, carrying it into Modone. There the sanjuk arrested the captain, Christopher d'Ollard of Dartmouth, and handed him over to Michiel. Relations became strained when the sanjuk, who was anxious to extract a large sum of money from the pirates, demanded the return of his prisoner, which Michiel, who was eager to execute justice on the English, refused to do. Eventually, on 11 September 1604, Michiel hanged d'Ollard and three of his crew after Constantinople directed the sanjuk to withdraw his opposition.[1] The English sought revenge for this action. In November they took the Moresini in the waters of Zante and savagely looted or destroyed all Michiel's personal possessions that they found on board.[2]

The depredations of the English bertons in the Levant were essentially a by-product of two decades of privateering. Many pirates began their voyages from England with letters of marque against Spain. They used Turkish ports for refitting, revictualing and for the disposal of their booty, but they never attempted to create permanent bases for their operations outside England.[3] The corsairs would try to sell their loot immediately so that they could return home without arousing too much suspicion. Their men-of-war were usually English - built of about 200 tons. The crews numbered between sixty and 100 and were normally English, although often they had a leavening of Dutch and French sailors.

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1 Ibid., pp. 29-30, 181, Michiel to Doge and Senate, 18 May 1603, 13 September 1604, p.173, Contarini to Doge and Senate, 7 August 1604.

2 Ibid., p.196, Michiel to Doge and Senate, 4 December 1604.

3 For example, in the winter of 1600-1, two bertons carried a Venetian prize into Algiers where they burnt it, rather than leave it there. (Tenenti, op.cit., p.68). When Englishmen became established in North African ports they were able to fit out their prizes as men-of-war at leisure.

William Pierce's voyage was typical of this kind of piracy. He sailed from Plymouth late in 1602 in the Elizabeth with letters of reprisal against Spain. Pierce put up half the costs of victualling the ship, but she was owned by Thomas Dumbell and Richard Fishborne. After passing a fruitless six weeks on the Spanish coast, Pierce entered the Mediterranean, revictualled at Tunis and Modone and took the Veniera. For a bribe of 500 hides, Pierce was permitted to sell his loot at Milo, and most of the remainder was disposed of in various Turkish ports on the return voyage - notably at Modone, Tunis and Santa Cruz. The loot was not only purchased by the indigenous population of these ports, but also by the crews of English ships, who had no scruples about buying contraband goods. For example the crew of the Blessing of Plymouth all made purchases at Milo, and Pierce sold his booty to as many as six different ships' companies at Santa Cruz. His crew tried to land in England as unobtrusively as possible. To achieve this pirates often got passage home in other English ships and Pierce himself transferred to a ship of Plymouth with his loot, landing at Teignmouth.[1]

This type of marauding reached its height in 1603 when Venice lost twelve important ships to the northern pirates.[2] However, it was not only

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1 H.C.A. 1/46/74-9: 22 July, (?) August 1603. Pierce claimed that he had been forced to enter the Mediterranean and to take the Veniera by a mutinous crew, and that he had only intended to escort the Veniera safely to Venice. Many captains devised more credible stories. His claims are not corroborated by William Valentine, the ship's carpenter, who also said that Pierce took a Marseilles bark with a cargo of hides and sugar which he sold at Santa Cruz. On further examination Pierce admitted that his crew had taken a small bark of Messina with ten chests of sugar and sixteen bales of wax which had been sold at Tunis. Pierce, however, disclaimed all knowledge of this sale, for he 'lay then verey sick not like to live'. (H.C.A. 1/46/92: 22 February 1604).

2 Tenenti, op. cit., p.69.

the Republic which suffered. Piracies on French vessels provided a continual source of conflict between the English and French ambassadors at the Porte, and as early as 1600 the Venetian ambassador observed that:

> ... these /the French complaints/ as one hears from all sides, will become general to all the powers, for this accursed race has grown so bold that it goes everywhere without hesitation, using barbarous cruelty, sinking ships, and carrying the booty into Patras and other ports where they find those who give them shelter.[1]

In 1603 English pirate bertons were so numerous that they were completely disrupting Mediterranean commerce. The Venetians taken by Pierce were released, only to be recaptured off Modone by Captain Anthony Townes. Townes then sailed into Milo, where he broke his promise not to meddle with any shipping, by taking a ship of Marseilles out of the harbour. He then carried his prize to Tunis, and sold its lading of silks and indigo worth about £15,000. Townes' attitude was typical of most English privateers. When his seizure of a neutral vessel was questioned, he replied that he would 'answere yt well enough, notwithstandinge the company of the said shipp sayde they were french men of marcelles.'[2] Of the depredations of 1603 Tenenti wrote:

> This was the time when the <u>bertoni</u> seemed most to regard piracy as a lucrative industry: two merchantmen were plundered twice in succession during these months, as if the pirates were more interested in finding them again with cargoes than in sinking or capturing them.[3]

James' accession and peace with Spain brought about a definite change in the operations of English pirates in the Mediterranean. In the latter years of the war English privateers operating inside the Straits of Gibraltar had caused Elizabeth considerable embarrassment by pillaging the vessels of friendly powers and neutrals. As early as 1591 a proclamation was issued forbidding Englishmen to spoil Venetian or Florentine ships.[4] However, depredations increased, opportunist captains forcing

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1 <u>C.S.P. Ven. 1592-1603,</u> pp. 412-3, Girolamo Capello to Doge and Senate, 3 June 1600.

2 H.C.A. 1/46/92-3: 22 February 1604.

3 Tenenti, <u>op. cit.</u>, p.69.

4 Steele, <u>Tudor and Stuart Proclamations</u>, I, no. 830.

the masters of ships they took to sign declarations that they had seized on nothing but enemy cargo.[1] The English government was so unsuccessful in controlling the exuberance of its sailors, that in March 1602 English men-of-war were forbidden to enter the Straits or to dispose of their booty in Italian or Turkish ports.[2] When in June 1603 any further capture of Spanish ships was denounced as piracy,[3] it became impossible for pirates to conceal their actions under the mantle of privateering.

England was no longer safe as a base for Mediterranean marauding. Late in 1603, Sir Julius Caesar, judge of the admiralty, sent to Sir Thomas Edmondes a list of twenty-three mariners who were to be apprehended for entering the Straits in defiance of the prohibition.[4] Pierce and Tompkins were both excluded from the general coronation pardon[5] and a proclamation of September 1603 was specifically concerned with the apprehension of Tompkins and his crew.[6] In the following year a further proclamation was issued for the arrest of William Hull and Philip Ward, who had also committed acts of piracy in the Mediterranean. Anyone in England who harboured them was to suffer death and forfeiture of his property.[7]

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1 Tenenti, op. cit., p.66.

2 Steele, op. cit., I, no. 925.

3 Ibid., I. xciv.

4 S.P. 14/5/22, 24 November 1603.

5 C.S.P. Ven. 1603-7, p.123, Piero Duodo and Nicolo Molin to Doge and Senate, 11 December 1603.

6 Steele, op.cit., I, no.972. Sir Edward Coke noted that some pirates who had robbed the Venetians had been excluded from the pardon, condemned and executed (Coke, The First Part of the Institutes, Vol.III sect. 745). The trial was held in the Audit House at Southampton, and Sir Julius Caesar and the mayor both sat on the commission. Seven local men, members of Tompkin's crew, were sentenced to death, although one of them, Walter Janverin, was pardoned through the efforts of his 'honest parents' who bought his life from Scaramelli [The Assembly Books of Southampton, ed. J.W. Horrocks (Southampton Record Society), Vol. I, 1917, pp. xxix-xxx; H.C.A. 1/101/20]

7 Steele, op. cit., I, no. 1004.

The Venetians were instrumental in outlawing these pirates from England. In 1603, the Senate overcame its distaste for renewing diplomatic connections with an heretical country and sent Giovanni Scaramelli, the Venetian secretary, to London.[1] He was able to exploit James' abhorrence of pirates and procured the restoration of some stolen goods. At an audience at Woodstock on 30 September, Scaramelli informed the king that the earl of Nottingham, the lord high admiral, had admitted receiving six sacks of silver coins worth about 4,000 ducats - £1,000. These had been plundered from the Venetians by Tompkins, although Nottingham claimed he had accepted them in the belief that they had been taken from Spaniards. James 'listened with extreme impatience, twisting his body about, striking his hands together and tapping with his foot.' Then taking Scaramelli's memorandum he cried, 'By God, I'll hang the pirates with my own hands, and my Lord Admiral as well.' The king then ordered the restoration of Venetian property and the punishment of the offenders.[2] With the establishment of Nicolo Molin as the permanent Venetian ambassador in London in 1604, the Venetians possessed an effective system for the recovery of their goods in England, with the support of the king himself. Thus English pirates could no longer hope to enjoy their spoils in England. James went even further in attempting to appease Venice. In 1605, he agreed that every English merchantman in Venetian waters should prove her identity, and he even seemed to agree that sureties should be taken in England for ships visiting Venetian ports.[3]

After 1604 pirates still sailed from England under cover of Dutch commissions, but they confined themselves to the Atlantic and preyed mainly upon Spanish, French and Dutch shipping. It was no longer safe to bring back booty to England after a successful cruise in the Mediterranean. Thus , piracy within the Straits was less attractive than it had been for

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1 Before 1603 complaints had been delivered to Thomas Edmondes, the English agent in Paris (C.S.P. Ven. 1592-1603, p.301, Contarini to Doge and Senate, 9 December 1597).

2 C.S.P. Ven. 1603-7, pp. 96, 140-1, Scaramelli to Doge and Senate, 28 September, 5 October 1603.

3 Tenenti, op. cit., p.72. The order to collect sureties was probably never implemented.

the individual pirate captain operating far from home. The peace with Spain, Turkey's natural enemy, made the Porte less sympathetic to the depredations of English men-of-war. However, the Grand Signor exercised only a halting control over the Morea and Barbary, where 'a calculating neutrality, which frequently turned into some degree of support for the Northerners, was the usual policy, if not the absolute rule, from Algiers to Tunis and from Modone to Patras: every so long [sic] some contrary gesture was made.'[1] Yet, conditions after 1604 were such that English pirates needed to have better relations with Turkish ports to be able to dispose of their loot in safety.

The shipping of the Mediterranean was still ripe for plunder after 1604, and there was no lack of English seamen ready to exploit it. Neither was there any shortage of convenient bases. In Italy the grand duke of Tuscany was enticing English sailors to Leghorn, where he hoped to use them for his marauding expeditions against the Turks.[2] On the southern shores of the Mediterranean the ports of Barbary gave a ready welcome to pirate ships, and Algiers and Tunis were particularly successful in establishing strong fleets of bertons with the help of English and Dutch renegades.

Sir Thomas Sherley was one of the first Englishmen to serve under the Tuscan flag. He left England in September 1602, and received a commission from the grand duke to make war on the Turks. Sherley was soon deserted by his consort, which took to indiscriminate plundering, and in January 1603 he was captured by the Turks when he attempted to take the island

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[1] Ibid., p. 73.

[2] On 12 December 1598, the grand duke 'forbade English corsairs to enter his dominions on pain of loss of their ship and goods, 'the cawse theirof being for that the said English shipps comming to Leghorne doe their take in half their lading and after goe fourth to robb.' (S.P.98/1/128, News from Florence.) The duke soon learnt to manipulate the English corsairs to his own advantage.

of Zea. His mutinous crew then made off in his ship the Dragon, and also became pirates.

The Englishman who achieved greatest notoriety in the duke's service was Richard Gifford. He had been sentenced to death for piracy at Leghorn in 1601, but by September of that year he had been released and his property restored.[2] Early in 1603 Gifford left England as captain of the Lions with letters of marque against Spain. He claimed that when he was off the Spanish coast he had heard of the proclamation forbidding privateering and had changed his plans. He said he subsequently left the Lions and went to Tuscany to advise the grand duke of his intention either to sail to Leghorn to enter the duke's service or to trade there.[3]

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1 Andrews, Elizabethan Privateering, pp. 66-7. Sherley was finally released from a Turkish dungeon in 1605 through James' intercession.

2 Gifford went to sea as captain of the Charles of London in or about December 1600. His financial backers included Cecil and Lord Buckhurst and he carried letters of reprisal which had been procured by Cecil in person. Entering the Mediterranean, Gifford joined forces with a pirate named Hugh Griffith. Near Sardinia they captured a great Ragusan vessel laden with corn and carried her to Tunis where they extorted a large ransom for her release. For a further consideration Gifford agreed to escort the Ragusan vessel to Leghorn, where, in May 1601, he was arrested for piracy. Although the Ragusan vessel had been carrying corn to Spain, Gifford's letters of reprisal counted for little with the grand duke of Tuscany who was ill-disposed towards English seamen at the time. It seems likely that Gifford only escaped death because it became known that his voyage had had the support of two of the most powerful men in England. Late in 1601 he returned home and in the following year undertook another voyage through the straits, this time spoiling two French merchantmen carrying Dutch cargoes. On his return to England in September 1602, he was arrested at the instance of the French and Dutch claimants, but once again his influential backers managed to secure his release. See K.R. Andrews, 'Sir Robert Cecil and Mediterranean Plunder', E.H.R. LXXXVII (1972), pp. 519-23.

3. Some years later Gifford said he captured a Spanish Brazilman and carried her to Tuscany (S.P. 98/2/263, Gifford to Salisbury, 12 May 1609).

However, in August, in Gifford's absence, the Lions was taken by Spanish gallies near Majorca. After a voyage to Algiers, Gifford returned to Leghorn,where the grand duke employed him to fire the Algerine gallies.[1] He sailed to Algiers in a small flyboat with a mixed crew of English and Flemings. Pretending that he was operating against Spanish shipping he was made welcome at Algiers and allowed to furnish his needs and refresh his crew. There he met Captain Brocket in the White Swan of Bristol, who agreed to help to fire the Algerine vessels. At midnight on the 5 April, 1604, twenty of Gifford's men routed the 100 men guarding the mole at Algiers, placed barrels of lighted 'wildfire' in the gallies, and attacked two frigates which were ready to leave to reconnoitre the Spanish coast. The operation was completed in half-an-hour, but the fuses to the gunpowder were discovered in time by the Algerines and little damage was done.[2]

Gifford and Brocket then sailed along the coast to Bougie where they carried off nineteen of the town's leading citizens who had boarded their ships under a flag of truce. Brocket hoped to use these Turks and Moors as hostages for nine of his crew whom he had left behind at Algiers, but his men were executed the morning after the attack. Gifford's assault on the gallies had disastrous repercussions for the English.[3] Twenty

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1 S.P. 98/2/93, Gifford to Cecil, 13 October 1604. Gifford claimed that the Lions was taken under pretence of friendship, the Spaniards killing ten of the crew in cold blood and putting the rest in the gallies. It seems likely that the Spaniards believed the Lions was a pirate ship.

2 Ibid. S.P. 71/1/13, Woogan and Edmonds to Privy Council, 28 April 1605; H.C.A. 1/46/243: 28 January 1606. Gifford said there were three frigates. He blamed his failure on the fireworks, which made a lot of smoke but no fire. Six Turks were killed, many more wounded and eight galley keepers carried off. One witness testified that Brocket was a close friend of Gifford and implicated in the plot - a view endorsed by Woogan and Edmonds. Gifford, however, denied that Brocket played any part in the attack.

3 S.P. 98/2/93, Gifford to Cecil, 13 October 1604.

English mariners were seized from ships as hostages for the prisoners taken from Bougie, and English merchants in Algiers were brought before the duana (town council) and sentenced to death. The merchants, however, were able to purchase their lives for £1,000 but were forced to flee the city.[1]

Gifford was outlawed in England by a proclamation of the 13 June 1606.[2] He remained in Tuscany and wrote to Salisbury begging to be allowed to return to his family in England. He denied that he was a pirate since he had made his attack on Algiers before it was forbidden to serve foreign princes, and that his actions had not been committed under an English flag:[3]

> I did ytt att the earnest intreaty of a Prince and for a Prince in leage and amitye with our kinge and with his commission and collors.[4]

Gifford profited little from his exploits. His appeals to England fell on deaf ears and in 1608 the grand duke imprisoned him in an attempt to avoid payment of a £3,000 debt and a pension of £200 a year

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1 S.P. 98/2/253, 'A Memorial of the injuryes which the Great Duke hath caused to be done to the Inglish nation, since his Majestye's entrance to the crowne of England.' [1608]; S.P. 105/109/26, Richard Staper to Sir Thomas Lowe and other Levant merchants, 19 March 1608.

2 Steele, Tudor and Stuart Proclamations, I, no.1035.

3 S.P. 98/2/112,115, Gifford to Salisbury, 23 September, 23 November 1606.

4 S.P. 98/2/112.

which he owed to Gifford for his services against Algiers.[1]

After the peace with Spain, Tunis rose to pre-eminence as a haven for English adventurers in the Mediterranean. It had already become popular during the last years of the queen's reign as a place where English men-of-war could revictual and dispose of their loot in safety.[2] Tunis owed its continued importance to the fact that probably the most famous pirate of his day, John Ward, made Tunis his base of operations. In 1607 Sir Henry Wotton told the Venetian cabinet,

> That famous pirate, Ward, so well-known in this port for the damage he has done, is beyond a doubt the greatest scoundrel that ever sailed from England.[3]

Ward spent his piratical career in the Mediterranean, beyond the arm of English justice. Yet the repercussions of his actions in England were such that he was named in a proclamation of 1609[4] and he inspired

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1 S.P. 98/2/171, Gifford to Salisbury, 8 July 1608. In 1613, Gifford was living at Villefranche in Savoy, where he was 'thought a partner or intelligencer with Easton and his band of pirates (S.P.92/1/93, Parkhurst to /Lord Rochester/, 20 February 1613). It was possibly the same Captain Brocket who brought James' letter to Turin, demanding the restitution of the Concord of London, taken by Easton (S.P.92/1/191, Parkhurst to Rochester, 8 August 1613). De Castries confused Richard Gifford with John Gifford, who was general of the Christian forces in the army of Muley Zidan, king of Morocco, and who died valiantly in battle on 26 November 1607 (Henry de Castries, Les Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc de 1530 à 1845. Archives et bibliothèques d'Angleterre, 3 vols., Paris 1918-35, II. 272-3).

2 See for example H.C.A. 1/46/30: 27 March 1602. One report, seized on by the Venetian governor of Zante, stated that early in 1603 there were twenty English pirate vessels at Tunis, most of whose crews had been outlawed by Elizabeth. (Tenenti, op.cit., p.74.) Such figures should however be treated with caution, since foreigners were eager to give evidence to scandalous reports about English men-of-war. In 1603, Henry Lello told Cecil that he understood that there were only seventeen men-of-war in the whole Mediterranean. /K.R. Andrews, 'Sir Robert Cecil and Mediterranean Plunder', E.H.R. LXXXVII (1972), p.517./ It is worth noting that soon after James' accession the Centurion of Ratcliffe visited Tunis with the king's order commanding all men-of-war to return to England (H.C.A. 1/46/87: 21 February 1604).

3 C.S.P. Ven. 1607-10, p.54, 5 November.

4 Steele, op.cit., I, no.1070.

plays and pamphlets to be written about him.[1] An English seaman who saw Ward at Tunis in 1608 described the infamous corsair as:

> Very short with little hair, and that quite white, bald in front; swarthy face and beard. Speaks little, and almost always swearing. Drunk from morn till night. Most prodigal and plucky. Sleeps a great deal, and often on board when in port. The habits of a thorough "salt". A fool and an idiot out of his trade.[2]

Little is known of Ward's early career. He was probably born at Faversham, Kent, in about 1553,[3] and spent his early years as a 'poore fisher's brat.'[4] He seems to have taken to piracy towards the end of Elizabeth's reign,[5] but with little success, for by 1603 he was living in poverty at Plymouth.[6] In that year Ward was recruited to serve in

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1 E.g. Andrew Barker, A True and Certaine Report of the Beginning, Proceedings, Overthrowes, and now present Estate of Captaine Ward and Danseker, the two late famous Pirates: from their first setting foorth to this present time, 1609; Robert Dabone, A Christian turn'd Turke, 1612; Thomas Dekker, If it be not Good, the Divel is in it, 1612.

2 C.S.P. Ven. 1607-10, pp.140-1.

3 Ibid., He was aged about fifty-five in 1608. Barker, op. cit., p.2, also says he was born in Faversham.

4 Dabone, op. cit., Act 1, Sc. 2.

5 In 1602, a Captain John Ward of Plymouth, who had plundered a Danish vessel of great value in Spanish seas, was in gaol at Plymouth. Ward had been consorted with Captain Cock and had sold his booty of muscatels and Venetian glass to an English merchant at Safi. He received a discharge from Reynold Symonson, the Dane he had robbed, only to be rearrested on an action taken by his fellow adventurers, but he was again released, this time on bail. (B.M. Lansd. MS. 142 f. 159, Christopher Harris to Ceasar, f. 163, mayor of Plymouth to Caesar, 29 August 1602; H.C.A. 1/46/12: 7 March 1602.)

6 Barker, op. cit., p.2.

the channel squadron in the Lion's Whelp under Captain Thomas Sockwell, who was also to become a notorious pirate. After only two weeks in the king's service, Ward, accompanied by thirty other sailors, stole out of Portsmouth at night in a bark which belonged to a Catholic recusant who was about to sail to France.[1] Ward and the other malcontents were apparently unable to adjust themselves to the drudgery of life in the English navy after the halcyon days of privateering. The pamphleteer, Andrew Barker, quoted Ward as having addressed his comrades thus:

> ... who would bee a boord of the Lyon's whelpe,
> with bare and hungrie allowance of cold fish
> and naked cheese, and may as we do thrust up
> their armes to the elbow in a Venison pastie?[2]

Sailing to the Isle of Wight in the captured bark, they took the Violet of London on the 14 November 1603. It is not evident that Ward was captain of the pirates at this time. Barker said he was known as 'Lack Ward' because of his cowardice and Edward Fall who 'seemed to be Captane and comander' was named as such in the indictments of the admiralty court. Fall was soon captured and executed[3], and the rest of

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1 Ibid., pp.5-7; H.C.A. 13/98/278: 18 February 1609. Ewen followed the evidence of a man who informed Sir Henry Wotten that Ward 'rose through all ranks of the service', to obtain a post in the channel squadron. (C.S.P. Ven. 1607-10, p.141, cited by Cecil Henry L'Estrange Ewen, Captain John Ward, "Arch-Pirate", Paignton, 1939, p.2). All other evidence points to Ward's career being particularly undistinguished until he became a pirate.

2 Barker, op.cit., p.9. Ward is made to describe privateering as those days 'when we might doe what we list, and the Law would beare us out int.'

3 H.C.A.1/5/4-7. There is no positive evidence to connect John Ward of Dartmouth, who captured the Violet, with the famous pirate. Barker, writing five years after the event, made no mention of this piracy. However, the circumstantial evidence is very strong. Sir Henry Wotton's information was that Ward sailed to the Isle of Wight, where he surprised a French ship (C.S.P. Ven. 1607-10, p.141) and although the Violet was a London ship, Ward and his accomplices were in a Brittany bark. The coincidences of time, name and place all seem to indicate that the piracy on the Violet marks the beginning of Ward's career. Little emphasis should be given to the indictments, which stated that Ward came from Dartmouth, for they are generally lax in such details. On two later occasions, Ward was indicted as coming from London and Plymouth (H.C.A.1/5/184, 191).

the crew sailed to the Scilly Isles, where, hiding below hatches, they finally managed to surprise a seventy-ton Frenchman bound for Ireland by engaging her in conversation for several hours. It was probably at this point, when the pirates were desperate, that Ward became the true leader. They realised that their actions had outlawed them from their country and that 'to trust to the mercie of the law, is as good as for a man to chops hand upon a Raser and see if it will cut.'[1] Ward put back to Cawsand Bay, a remote inlet near Plymouth, to strengthen his numbers and then headed south towards the Mediterranean.

In September 1604, on his way to the Straits, Ward made prize of a 100-ton Flemish flyboat which was sailing north from Lisbon.[2] He then entered the Mediterranean and sailed to Algiers. However, he was badly received there because of Richard Gifford's attempts to burn the gallies.[3] Leaving Algiers, he sailed to the waters of Zante where, in December 1604, he took the Santa Maria of Venice, which was carrying a cargo of currants and silks, and manned her with his own men. Ward's strength had increased considerably in the year since he had left England. His man-of-war was now a flyboat mounting thirty-two cast pieces with a crew of 100.[4] On Christmas Day 1604 he plundered a Flemish ship of her cargo of pepper, wax and indigo, but let her go.[5]

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1 Barker, op. cit. pp. 9-10.

2 H.C.A. 1/46/96: 4 July 1605. Mathew Somerland, who gave evidence concerning Ward's early career, joined Ward in September 1604 from a Flemish ship, which was bringing him home to England after a term of imprisonment in Spain. He remained with Ward until March 1605, when he got passage to England from Gibraltar. Ewen believed nothing was known of Ward's piracies prior to 1606, apart from Barker's pamphlet (Ewen, op. cit., p.2 n.9).

3 Barker, op. cit., pp. 11-12; S.P.98/2/115, Gifford to Salisbury, 23 November 1606.

4 H.C.A. 1/46/196, 203: 4, 18, July 1605.

5 H.C.A. 1/46/196: 4 July 1605.

Although the strength and wealth of the pirates was increasing rapidly they had no permanent base of operations. In 1605 Ward sold his booty in the Mediterranean and went outside the Straits in the Gift to victual and trim at Sally. His successes attracted men to his service, and he was joined by twenty-three Englishmen under Captain Bishop, who had sailed to the Spanish coast in the Blessing with Dutch letters of marque. They were down on their luck, and had been badly mauled by a Spanish warship, so that 'seeing the said Warde and companie to be well shipped and full of monie lefte the Blessinge and went into Captaine Ward's shippe.'[1]

The alliance with Bishop strengthened Ward's hand, and his forces were further increased when he was joined at Larache by Michael, another English sea-captain. Although Michael soon returned to England, his crew remained with Ward, under the command of Michael's old lieutenant, Anthony Johnson.[2] There was certainly no shortage of able seamen who were attracted to piracy. Barker relates how Ward was joined by 'many other worthy spirits, whose resolutions, if they had beene aimed to honourable actions, either a sea or shore, they might have beene preferred and commended for service to the greatest Prince living'.[3]

In November 1605 Ward pillaged silks, velvets and damasks worth £5,500 from a vessel of Messina in the waters of Cyprus. He also captured a French ship in the road of Modone with a cargo of spices, drugs and cottons.[4] However, his continued success made it necessary

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1 H.C.A. 13/97/115-6: 11 February 1608; 13/39/147: 23 March 1608. The Blessing, which was owned by Bishop, left London in late 1604. Henry Gifford, the captain, Birch, the master, and twenty-two of the crew had gone into a Spanish bark which was captured by the Blessing on the coast of Spain. However, the next day, they were taken by a Spanish man-of-war and brought to Spain, where five of them, including Gifford and Birch, were executed. Bishop carried the Blessing to Sally, where he waited with his men in a sorry state for about three months, before Ward arrived.

2 C.S.P. Ven. 1607-10, p.141. This report also states that Ward made an alliance with Bishop at Larache.

3 Barker, op. cit., p.13.

4 H.C.A. 13/97/141: 25 March 1608.

for him to find a mart upon which he could rely for the disposal of his considerable booty. By 1606 he was at Tunis in a flyboat of 220 tons with an Anglo-Dutch crew of eighty, and had probably reached an agreement with the dey, Cara Osman, who was captain of the janissaries.[1] In August Ward was well ensconced in the city. He had a house there and had helped some English mariners who were in difficulties.[2]

The years 1606-7 were ones of almost uninterrupted success for Ward and unparalleled disaster for the Venetians. Ward set out on his first voyage from Tunis on or about 1 October 1606 in his own man-of-war, the Gift. Cara Osman paid one quarter of the cost of victualling the ship and the crew was entirely English, except for twelve Turks, put aboard by Cara Osman, who paid for their own upkeep.[3] The voyage was a great success, for on 28 January 1607, forty miles from the coast of the Morea, the crew of the Gift, flying a Dutch flag, captured the Rubi, a 300-ton Venetian argosy which was returning from Alexandria laden with spices, by boarding 'verie suddeine, desperate and without feare.'[4] Ward followed this capture by ambushing the Carminati, a Venetian berton which was returning home from Nauplia and Athens.[5] Both prizes

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1 H.C.A. 1/47/65: 13 December 1609. In 1606, Savary de Brèves, French ambassador at Constantinople, was at Tunis, where he saw Ward (Vuert) with a ship of twenty-eight guns and a crew of 150. (Savary de Brèves, Relation des Voyages de Monsieur de Brèves, Paris, 1628, p.306). Another report said Ward came to Tunis in August 1606 in a Dutch ship of Hoorn (the Gift?) laden with his loot, which included silk and silk stockings (H.C.A.13/39/160: 26 April 1608).

2 H.C.A. 1/47/59: 28 November 1609.

3 H.C.A. 13/39/146: 23 March 1608. Henry Hutchins, Ward's purser, received £55 for victuals from the chief servant of Cara Osman.

4 H.C.A. 13/97/125: 2 March 1608.

5 Tenenti, Decline of Venice, p.77. Tenenti was not sure if Ward was responsible for the capture of the Rubi. In fact, Ward was in the Rubi when he later captured the Reniera e Soderina (H.C.A. 1/5/209).

were taken back to Tunis where the booty was sold and the Rubi fitted out for war and manned with a crew of 140, mostly English.[1]

When Ward put to sea in February or March 1607,[2] this time in the Rubi, Cara Osman again had a quarter share in the venture which he paid for by providing Ward with ordnance, powder, shot and match from the Turkish armoury.[3] However, on this occasion only one Moor accompanied Ward and there were no Turks.[4] On 16 April 1607, Ward made his most sensational capture. His prize was the Reniera e Soderina, a 600-ton Venetian argosy which lay becalmed near Cyprus on her return voyage to Venice with a cargo of cotton yarn, indigo, silks and cinnamon worth at least £100,000.[5] The loss caused a great stir at Venice, not only because of the Soderina's fabulous cargo, but also because of the cowardice shown by her crew, who put up little resistance:

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1 H.C.A. 13/97/12-14: 30 May 1607. The Rubi's cargo was pepper, cinnamon, indigo, drugs and 3,000 pieces of gold. Her capacity was put as high as 4-500 tons (H.C.A. 13/39/146: 23 March 1608).

2 H.C.A. 13/39/161, 195: 26 April, 27 May 1608.

3 H.C.A. 13/39/146, 226: 23 March, 23 June 1608.

4 H.C.A. 13/39/195: 27 May 1608.

5 H.C.A. 1/5/209; 13/97/94: 15 December 1607. The Soderina was taken in the Gulf of Settelia by two bertons, each carrying 100 musketeers and mounting forty guns (Tenenti, op. cit., p.174 n. 29). The Venetians put their loss as high as 500,000 crowns (C.S.P. Ven. 1607-10, p.62, Guistinian to Doge and Senate, 15 November 1607), and Barker said the ship was 'esteemed to be worth two millions at the least' (Barker, op. cit., p.13).

> The captain, after deciding on the advice of everybody to fight, divided up all his crew and passengers, and stationed some on the quarterdeck, others on the maindeck and poop, and thus they all seemed to be very gallant soldiers with weapons in their hands. The two ships that came to attack, even though two or three shots were fired at them, strove without further ado to lay themselves alongside, and on coming within range fired off twelve shots, six each, always aiming at the crew and the sails, without firing once into the water. Their plans, designed to terrify, succeeded excellently, because two of those who were defending the quarterdeck were hit by one of their shots, and when they were wounded, indeed torn to pieces, all the rest fled, leaving all their weapons lying on the quarterdeck and all of them running to their own property, even while the two vessels were coming alongside. For all his efforts, the captain was not only quite unable to force the crew to return to the quarterdeck, he could not even make them emerge from below decks or from the forecastle. Indeed the ship's carpenter and some others confronted him with weapons in their hands and told him that he should no longer command the ship.[1]

Ward took yet another Venetian ship near Cyprus on the 15 June[2] and returned triumphantly six days later to La Goulette, the port of Tunis, with booty valued at 400,000 crowns. At this stage in his career he bragged that he had never been beholden to Cara Osman and he was not keen to bring his prize into Tunis unless he got good terms.

Accordingly, he,

> ... made many offers to carry away the shipp and goods to some other porte, because the said Carosman would not come to his price, and to that ende the said Warde rode out of command of the castle, and kepte his sayles at the yards, untill they had concluded.[3]

Eventually Ward did sell the cargo of the Soderina to Cara Osman, for only 70,000 crowns, and he then converted the Soderina by

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1 Tenenti, op. cit., pp. 77-8. A less reliable report said that the Soderina resisted for three hours until she became leaky and caught fire (Ibid., p.174 n.29).

2 H.C.A. 1/5/184. The cargo was valued at £4,000.

3 H.C.A. 13/39/160: 26 April 1608.

mounting forty bronze guns on the lower deck and twenty on the upper, for use as his man-of-war.[1] Ward's successes shook the Republic so much that late in 1607 the vitally important convoys to Syria and Egypt did not sail because of his presence in the waters of Zante.[2]

Ward's activities had not been confined to Venetian shipping in these years. In April 1606, he had taken a Flemish ship off Sardinia with a cargo of textiles.[3] English merchants were no less vulnerable, for on 1 November 1606, just before he captured the Rubi, Ward had taken the John Baptist, 90 tons, which was owned by London merchants and which was engaged in local trading between Messina and Scio. Ward, who was in the Gift, a flyboat of more than 200 tons and mounting thirty guns, was accompanied on this occasion by Anthony Johnson, the captain of a fifty-ton pinnace.[4] At the end of the following year, on Christmas day 1607, Ward seized goods from Plymouth merchants within the Straits worth £1,000.[5] Clearly he had little compassion for his own countrymen, and his boast that he would rob his own father if he met him at sea may not have been far from the truth.[6]

Ward and his compatriots were able to teach the Turks the technique of handling 'round' swift sailing vessels, mounting heavy armament, which were vastly superior in battle to the galley, the traditional

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1 H.C.A. 13/97/93: 15 December 1607; Tenenti, op. cit., p.78.

2 Tenenti, op. cit., p. 78.

3 H.C.A. 13/97/141: 25 March 1608. The ship was on a voyage from Naples to Spain with gold and silver cloth, satins, velvet, taffeta, damask, sewing silk, lace buttons, 2,500 silk stockings, woollen cloth and paintings.

4 H.C.A. 13/97/139-40.

5 H.C.A. 13/97/162: 2 June 1608.

6 De Brèves, op. cit., p.325.

war ship of the Mediterranean.[1] In only a few years they effected a remarkable transformation in the type of vessels that were in use in the naval squadrons of Tunis. Captain Foucques, a Frenchman who was enslaved at Tunis in 1609, wrote that when Ward had arrived in 1606, 'en toute la force de Thunes, il n'y avoit que deux galliottes ou trois au plus'. Yet only three years later, Tunis could boast a naval force of twelve sailing ships of more than 300-tons each, four or five small pinnaces, six well-armed gallies and three oared frigates.[2] During these years, piracy became far more 'professional'. Since pirates were openly tolerated in Barbary, prizes could be brought back to base and converted to men-of-war at leisure. The rovers systematically worked along the important trade routes, concentrating especially on Venetian trade to Constantinople and Alexandria. Ward was so successful in 1607 that he completely closed Venice's lucrative trade with the latter. Pirate vessels no longer hunted alone, but worked in squadrons of three or more. For example, in the winter of 1609, Captain Sampson, an English renegade, sailed to Cretan waters with a squadron of three ships, while Ward went with another to scour the waters around Tripoli, Cyprus and Syria. Sampson's ships, acting in concert with each other, took two French vessels off Cerigo and Candie. They were then manned with pirate crews and sent back to base. The crews of the prizes were either sent to Tunis in their own ships under guard, or else were

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1 Infra. p. 338.

2 Pierre Grandchamp, La France en Tunisie au début du xvii e siècle, 5 vols., Tunis, 1920-7, III. 390-1. Barker, writing in 1609, said there were fifteen great ships at Tunis each having 20-40 guns and 200-300 men (Barker, A True Report, dedication). In 1608, Thomas Mitten, one of Ward's men, deposed that Tunis 'is a place of verie smalle trade, but that within theese 5 or 6 yeares, menne of warre have broughte prizes thither.' (H.C.A. 13/39/226: 23 June 1608).

distributed among the Tunisian men-of-war.[1]

Great wealth followed in the wake of the English pirates. Foucques estimated that Cara Osman and his associates at Tunis were better off by some six millions (French crowns?).[2] Osman, the most powerful man in Tunis, gave his wholehearted support to the English pirates and was on intimate terms with Ward, who called him 'brother'.[3] However, in spite of the prosperity which they brought to the city, the English pirates were resented and hated by the Turks for their outrageous conduct. Savary de Brèves, who was at Tunis in 1606, has left a vivid description of their debaucheries:

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1 C.S.P. Ven. 1610-13, pp. 559-63, trial of prisoners taken by the captain of the guard of Candia, 10 January 1610. The Leon d'Or was taken off Candie returning from Tripoli laden with cotton and spices, and twenty-five of her crew of forty were sent back to Tunis under guard. The other prize, a French sattia with a cargo of wine, was taken off Cerigo, and her crew of twenty were put into the Tunisian men-of-war. Sampson's squadron also captured a prize off Melos, but she was freed by the Venetian gallies on 3 January 1610.

2 Grandchamp, op. cit., III. 391. Walter Hancock, who had served under Ward, deposed that 'Captaine Warde is much made of at Tunes by the said Carosman and others and [sic] give him sufferance [to] furnishe and victuall him self from thence and to bringe such shipps and goodes as he taketh thither, for that yt is for theire benefitt.' (H.C.A. 13/39/198: 27 May 1608.)

3 H.C.A. 13/39/232: 30 June 1608.

Au reste, le grand profit que les Anglais apportent au pays, leurs profuses libéralités et les excessives débauches esquelles ils consomment leur argent avant que partir de la ville et retourner à la guerre (ainsi appelle-t-on ce brigandage sur mer) les fait cherir et appuyer de la milice sur toutes autres nations. De sorte qu'on ne connaît là qu'eux; ils portent l'épee au côté, ils courent tous ivres par la ville, sans que le vulgaire insolent de sa nature les chrétiens, les ose offenser: couchent avec les femmes des Mores, rachetant avec argent, quand ils y sont surpris, la peine du feu que les autres subiraient sans rémission. Bref toute dissolution et licence effrénée leur est permise: ce qui ne se supporterait des Turcs mêmes.[1]

The position of the English pirates at Tunis was gradually undermined. Even at the height of their success they probably numbered no more than a few hundred. In 1607, an English merchant informed the Venetian ambassador that there were 300 English corsairs at Tunis who wanted to return to England.[2] This number must have been drastically reduced soon afterwards by the loss of the Soderina. After fitting her out as a man-of-war, Ward was at sea in December 1607, in command of a large Anglo-Turkish crew. The Soderina, however, was rotten and weighted down by her excessive armament, so that when Ward captured a French ship, he decided to go into his prize, leaving the Soderina and her crew to their fate. Early in 1608, the great ship sank off Cerigo with the loss of 250 Turks and 150 Englishmen.[3] This disaster probably left little more than 100 Englishmen at Tunis, and when, in the following year, forty-five ran off after a dispute over pay, to offer their services to the Knights of Malta, Ward was left with only thirty Englishmen in the whole of Tunis.[4] On 24 May 1609, when Captain Foucques wrote to Henry IV of France, he reported that:

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1 De Brèves, op. cit., pp.307-8, cited by Jean Pignon, 'Un document inédit sur la Tunisie au debut du xvii e siècle', Cahiers de Tunisie IX(1961), p.208 n. 177.

2 C.S.P. Ven 1607-10, p.49, Guistinian to Doge and Senate, 24 October.

3 Ibid., p.105, Agustin Canal to Doge and Senate, 18 March 1608, p.141.

4 Barker, op.cit., p.19.

> les Anglois ... qui les ont instruits à s'armer et esquipper navires, au commencement lesdits Anglois estoient les maîtres, mais à présent ce sont les Turcs.[1]

The longer the English pirates remained at Tunis, the more their activities came under the control of the Turks. For the privilege of using the port to victual and arm their ships, the pirates had to pay a high price. They were not free to dispose of their booty as they wished. As was customary in other parts of North Africa, all goods brought into port had to be sold directly to the ruler, who then warehoused them and resold them, often to Christian merchants, at a fat profit. George Prestall, a merchant who had lived in Barbary for six years, told the admiralty court:

> ... yt is observed in Barbary as a lawe, that noe man dare adventure to buy any goodes taken at sea by men of warre of any nation, and brought into those partes, but the kinge himselfe ...[2]

On top of this, the pirates had to surrender one tenth of their prize to the bashaw, the Turkish governor appointed by Constantinople, while the dey was given his pick of the loot.[3] Thomas Mitten, who had been at Tunis for three years and had served under Ward, testified to Ward's dependence on Cara Osman:

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1 Grandchamp, op.cit., III.391. Captain John Smith writing some twenty years later said that the renegades 'would seldome goe to Sea, so long as they could possibly live on shore ... commonly running one from another, till they became so disjoynted, disordered, debauched, and miserable, that the Turks and Moores beganne to command them as slaves, and force them to instruct them in their best skill'. (Capt. John Smith, Works 1608-1631, ed. Edward Arber, Birmingham, 1884, p.915.)

2 H.C.A. 13/40/67: 23 January 1609.

3 De Brèves, op.cit., pp.306-7; H.C.A. 13/39/148: 23 March 1608; 13/97/173: 7 July 1608. The bashaw was the nominal head of Tunis and was appointed every three years. However, the bashaws merely exploited their office for profit. Real power in Tunis had lain with Cara Osman, the head of the janissaries, since 1594. (Pierre Dan, Histoire de Barbarie et de ses Corsaires, Paris, 1649, p.163). In 1625, it was the rule for the day of Tunis to take half of the booty (P. Grandchamp, 'Une mission délicate en Barbarie au XVII.e siècle' Revue Tunisienne, XXXI (1937), p.476).

> ... the said Carosman is the onelie aider, asister and upholder of the said Warde in his piracies and spoiles for that hee the saied Warde hathe noe other place to victualle in save onelie Tunis, and at Tunis hee coulde not victualle but by the meanes of Carosman whoe grauntethe him the saied Warde warrantes to take upp and buy victualles at Tunis and the Cuntrie theereaboutes. And the reason that moovethe the saied Carosman soe to doe is beecause when Warde takethe anie prize Carosman buyethe his goodes of him at his owne price.[1]

So long as English pirates were successful, they could maintain some semblance of independence, for they were still their own masters at sea. However, when they took no prizes or ran short of money then they were forced to turn to Turkish 'armadores', who quickly stepped in to finance their voyages. The character of these Turkish-backed cruises was very different from Ward's early voyages. The English, who could still contribute their skills as captains or pilots, were forced to put to sea in ships which were overwhelmingly manned by Turks and Moors.[2] The overall command of these vessels was in the hands of the aga who controlled the janissaries, and the reis, or sea-captain, had to submit himself entirely to the aga's decisions.[3] Sometimes English renegades were even forced to leave sureties at Tunis for their return.

For Ward the change of role from independent pirate captain to Turkish reis occurred after a disastrous marauding expedition in the winter of 1607-8. In a short space of time he lost his own ship, and the Balbi, a galleon which he had captured and fitted out at Navarino, was wrecked.[4] Most important of all, the Soderina went down with the

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1 H.C.A. 13/39/225: 23 June 1608.

2 Moors were the indigenous population of Barbary. They went to sea in the bertons but they were excluded from the elite Turkish militia, the janissaries, which was open to renegades (Grandchamp, Revue Tunisienne, XXXI. 475).

3 Dan, op.cit., p.298.

4 C.S.P. Venice 1607-10, p.136, Ottavino Bon to Doge and Senate, 27 May 1608.

250 Turks aboard, with the result that on his return to Tunis Ward would have been torn to pieces by the janissaries had it not been for the intervention of Cara Osman.[1] To make matters worse, one of Ward's leading captains, a Fleming named Jan Casten, while in command of two warships and a prize, was surprised and defeated by the superior fire-power of the Venetian gallies off Modone on 21 March 1608. Forty-four pirates were captured and fifty more were slain, including Casten.[2] At Easter 1608, Ward was able to fit out two ships, but only with the support of Cara Osman.[3] Yet he must have met with some early success for in April he was reported to be at Algiers with four prizes.[4] Nevertheless, all his future expeditions were subject to strong Turkish influence, both in their financial backing and in the composition of their crews. Ward tried to retrieve his fortunes in February 1609, when he bought an eighty-ton ship and sent it to sea with Captain Sampson in command of a crew of 100 Turks. Sampson took four small prizes and returned successfully to Tunis. Yet an incident in his voyage demonstrates the declining fortunes of the English. At one point, Sampson's Turkish crew forced him, against his will, to capture a ship of London which was captained by an old friend of his, William Fursman.[5]

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1 Ibid., p.141.

2 Tenenti, Decline of Venice, pp. 79, 174 n. 32.

3 C.S.P. Ven. 1607-10, p.141; H.C.A. 13/97/256: 16 December 1608.

4 H.C.A. 13/97/264: 4 January 1609. Ward's prizes were a French ship with oil, cochineal and hides and a Spanish vessel with Alicante wines. His 'vice-admiral', a French sattia of 240 tons, was manned by 150 Turks and only about a dozen English and Dutch. She had captured two Flemish ships, one with a cargo of corn and the other carrying 5,000 ducats.

5 Barker, A True Report, pp. 20-1 Sampson made another voyage in June, when Ward remained at Tunis, 'training men & casting Ordnance'.

Relations between the Turks and the English, always precarious, sometimes erupted into open violence at sea. Ward once had to board the ship of his consort, Abraham Crafton, to end a quarrel amongst the Anglo-Turkish crew,[1] and on another occasion, the Christian renegades of a pirate berton slew all their Turkish shipmates.[2] Some English seamen, whilst having no scruples about being pirates, discovered that they had no stomach for working in close collaboration with the heathen Turks. Captain Richard Bishop found Ward's practice of selling English prisoners into slavery particularly distasteful, and said that he would have attempted to kill or capture Ward if he had possessed sufficient strength.[3]

Bishop was essentially a privateer of the old school who found it difficult to exploit the opportunities which presented themselves in the Mediterranean. Indeed, he had arrived at Tunis almost by accident. During the Spanish war he had probably been captain of a Yarmouth privateer[4] and he had also served gallantly in Ireland under Norris.[5] After the treaty with Spain, unable to adjust to peacetime conditions, he had sailed from England to the Spanish coast with Dutch letters of marque. In 1605, Bishop's men joined forces with Ward on the Moroccan coast and he followed them to Tunis,[6] where he was evidently not as successful as Ward, for it was reported that 'Captaine Busshopp liveth in Tunis in poore estate'.[7] He served under Ward for a time,[8] and was also sent to sea by the Turks. In March 1607 he was

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1 Ibid., pp. 16-17.

2 C.S.P. Ven. 1607-10, p.278, Contarini to Doge and Senate, 30 May 1609.

3 C.S.P. Ir. 1611-14, p.91.

4 Ewen, Captain John Ward, "Arch Pirate", p.13 n.3. This seems more likely since Bishop was a Yarmouth man (H.C.A.1/47/65: 13 December 1609).

5 Lambeth Palace, S.P. Carew, vol. 619, f.135, Sir Arthur Chichester to Nottingham, 4 June 1610: 'he was alwayes well accompted of, by Sir John Norris, under whom he served in the warres of those tymes'.

6 Supra, p. 61.

7 H.C.A.13/39/72: 3 February 1608.

8 H.C.A. 1/47/65: 13 December 1609; 1/5/184.

captain of a ship manned by forty Turks and twenty Englishmen which had been fitted out by Cara Osman and the admiral of Tunis.[1] Yet Bishop evidently yearned to be independent of the Turkish system, for later that year, he purchased a ship from a Fleming for 2,700 pistols, which he equipped as a man-of-war. His accomplice in this venture was James Harris, a Bristolian, whom he had redeemed from slavery for 2,500 crowns. However, when the ship put to sea, both Bishop and Harris had to remain at Tunis as security for the victuals and other necessities for which they owed money. Unfortunately the voyage was fruitless. In 1608, the pirates tried their luck again, and this time Bishop was allowed to go as captain with sixty Englishmen, leaving Anthony Johnson and three others behind as hostages. Before long, Bishop was roving the waters of the Atlantic, as he had once done in his privateering days. The pirates 'beate upp and downe the Spanish coast' for several months, revictualling in Ireland, until eventually they took a sixty-ton pink off the southern cape of Spain. One Walker, who was made captain of the prize, then captured a St. Thome man and brought it into Safi, where he was set ashore by Bishop for trying to cheat him. Harris was then made captain of the pink and was sent to Tunis with £300 to redeem the four hostages still being held there, but he was forced to Ireland by contrary winds, as he said, where he was captured by Sir William St. John, captain of a royal pinnace, in May 1609[2] Bishop's career is illustrative of the increasing discomfort which the English pirates felt at having Tunis as a base of operations, and of the subsequent re-orientation in English piracy from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic.

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1 H.C.A. 13/39/150: 23 March 1608.

2 H.C.A. 1/47/32: 17 August 1609; 13/97/256-7: 16 December 1608. Bishop was indicted for piracies on a Dunkirk ship on 20 July 1608, on the St. John Evangelist of Hamburg on 20 August, and on a French vessel on 26 October (H.C.A.1/6/3,4, 24).

Bishop never returned to Tunis and spent the remainder of his piratical career in the Ocean, where he became the 'admiral' of a pirate fleet operating from the remote havens of Morocco and Ireland.[1]

The events of 1609 threatened the existence even of those English who were happy to collaborate with the Turks of Tunis. The mounting number of depredations by North African corsairs caused growing concern in France and Spain, especially since Ward's introduction of the galleon to Tunis was paralleled at Algiers by Simon Danser, a Fleming, who, with the help of Dutch and French renegades had created another formidable fleet of pirate vessels in North Africa.[2] On 14 June 1609,

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1 Infra, pp. 135-7.

2 Simon Danser or Danziker was a ship's master from Dordrecht. He had sailed to Marseilles with a Dutch commission to take Spanish shipping, but had fallen into had company and lost his ship. He seized a small vessel at Marseilles and turned to piracy, operating mainly about the Straits. After a brief alliance with Ward, he returned to Algiers, where his strength grew from operations both inside and outside the Straits. In the autumn of 1609, after he had taken a Spanish West Indiaman, he quarrelled with the Turkish members of his crew over the division of the booty and 150 of them were slain. Danser promptly deserted Algiers for Marseilles with four ships and loot estimated at 400,000 crowns, and he received a pardon from the king of France. (Emanuel Van Meteren, Histoire des Pays-Bas, The Hague, 1618, pp. 666-7; Barker, A True Report, pp. 23-4; Tenenti, Decline of Venice, pp. 84-5; S.P. 89/3/136, Hugh Lee to Thomas Wilson, 16 November 1609) The French used Danser to convoy their ships to the Levant in his 700-ton man-of-war mounting forty guns. He was, however, drawn to Tunis and executed in 1611 (Van Meteren, op. cit., p.708; W. Lithgow, Rare Adventures and Painful Peregrinations, Glasgow, 1906, pp.334-5).

Don Luis Fajardo, captain-general of the Spanish armada, left Cadiz with a fleet of sixteen ships, including six galleons, with instructions to destroy the corsairs. He had intended to join with a squadron of ships commanded by Sir Anthony Sherley in Sicily, but at Sardinia he fell in with a small French force under Philippe de Beaulieu-Persac, who had sailed from Le Havre in March with a galleon and a pinnace, and Henry IV's commission to capture pirates. Fajardo had apparently been intent on destroying Danser, but when de Beaulieu informed him that the pirate had been pardoned by Henry IV, Fajardo was persuaded to join with the French and employ his force for an attack on Tunis. On 30 July 1609, under cover of night, Fajardo and de Beaulieu sent in some barks to fire the unsuspecting Tunisian vessels which lay unguarded in the harbour of La Goulette. In less than four hours, twenty-two ships - some said as many as thirty-one - were destroyed by fire under the guns of their own fort, with no loss to the attacking forces.[1]

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1 Van Meteren, op.cit., pp.666-7; Dan, Histoire de Barbarie et de ses Corsaires, pp. 191-3; de Castries, Sources inédites, Angleterre, II. 413 n.5; Charles de la Roncière, Histoire de la Marine Francais, 6 vols., Paris, 1899-1920, IV. 372, 377; Pignon, Cahiers de Tunisie, IX (1961), p.207 n. 175; C.S.P. Ven. 1607-10, p.346, Girolamo Soranzo to Doge and Senate, 16 September 1609. Pignon says the idea for an attack on Tunis came from two deputies of commerce at Marseilles, who bribed de Beaulieu's lieutenant to urge his captain to burn the ships. Six of the vessels destroyed belonged to Cara Osman, three to the bashaw of Tunis and three to another Turk, Mahomet Rey. Several of the ships were over 500 tons and two were of 750 tons. With the sixteen warships and a galley which were destroyed, the Tunisians lost 435 pieces of ordnance and goods worth 400,000 ecus (Van Meteren, op.cit., p. 667). An important but often neglected part was played in the attack by Hunt of Plymouth, who piloted the fire ships into La Goulette and was well rewarded for his services (S.P. 89/3/136, Lee to Wilson, 16 November 1609).

Barker's belief thatthe pirates would 'never bee able to carrie such sway againe'[1] proved completely unfounded. Only a few months after the attack, Tunisian vessels were once more posing a threat to European commerce, and theywere soon able to rebuild their fleets.[2] However, the part which the English pirates had to play at Tunis was no longer important. The Turks of North Africa had always been chary of harbouring Christians in their midst for fear that they might betray them to their enemies. Englishmen had not been welcomed at Algiers since 1604, when Richard Gifford, who was working for the grand duke of Tuscany, had feigned friendship with the Algerines and had then attempted to burn their gallies. Similar 'betrayals' made the Algerines increasingly distrustful of the English.[3] In 1608,

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1 Barker, A True Report, p.26.

2 On 28 November 1609 George Bonn wrote to the earl of Rutland that in spite of the loss of twenty-three vessels the pirates were already in great strength again and English and Scottish shipping was suffering. /H.M.C. Twelfth Report (4), vol. I. 421/ In 1612, a Venetian who visited Tunis to ransom slaves reported that the city possessed four galleons, twelve frigates and six gallies (C.S.P. Ven. 1610-13, p.330).

3 In 1607 the Algerines wrote to James to protest at Gifford's action. They also complained that George Ireland who had run off from Algiers with some slaves was protected in Tuscany, as was William Mellin (S.P. 71/1/15, Mustapha, bashaw of Algiers, and Moratter Reis, general at sea, to James, 2 February 1607). Mellin had been part owner of the Hopewell, 240 tons, which he had freighted to Turks to transport goods from Algiers to Alexandria. At Alexandria the ship was stayed and her English crew mistreated after news of Gifford's exploits reached the city. The English were taken to sea under a Turkish guard, but at Kastellorizou, east of Rhodes, in August 1604, some of the Turks went ashore and the English overpowered the remainder and ran off with the Turkish cargo of pepper, cottons, salt and indigo worth £2,500, which they carried to Civitavecchia. (H.C.A. 1/5/136-7; 1/46/241-3, 253-4: 25 January, 31 May 1606; 13/97/34-5: 6 July 1607).

Richard Allen, the English consul, and William Garrat stole three Turkish vessels and escaped to Alicante.[1] It is not surprising, therefore, that few Englishmen sailed with Danser from Algiers,[2] and when he finally deserted the Turks in 1609 to serve at Marseilles, it was feared that his defection would prejudice Ward's survival at Tunis.[3]

The Tunisians were as unwilling to trust the English as were the Algerines. The capture of a Tunisian vessel by a Maltese galley aroused grave suspicion in the city,[4] and Turkish fears were realised in 1609, when forty-five of Ward's followers deserted to offer their services to the Knights of Malta.[5] Thus the firing of the fleet of Tunis merely confirmed the Turks' distrust of Christian renegades. Even Ward was anxious to quit Tunis at this time. In 1609 the grand duke of Tuscany was considering extending a protection to Ward, similar to that which Danser had received from Henry IV, but by August negotiations for a post at Leghorn had broken down.[6]

The English pirates who remained at Algiers and Tunis never again enjoyed any independence of action and were never given positions of trust unless they apostatized. Van Meteren observed that after the firing of the vessels at La Goulette,

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1 S.P. 71/1/22, Journal of the Proceedings at Algiers, 8 December 1620. Allen took goods which the bashaw claimed to be worth 300,000 pieces of eight.

2 John Audley, who had been consul at Algiers wrote that there were no more than twenty Flemish and English with Danser late in 1608 (S.P. 71/1/17, 14 January 1609). In 1608 there were only two Englishmen in his squadron (H.C.A. 13/97/257: 16 December 1608).

3 C.S.P. Ven. 1607-10, p.375, Giacomo Vendramin to Doge and Senate, 31 October 1609.

4 Ibid., p.238, Contarini to Doge and Senate, 7 March 1609.

5 Supra, p. 68.

6 C.S.P. Ven. 1607-10, p.309, Vendramin to Doge and Senate, 1 August 1609.

> Warde, Varney & autres y faysoyent encores leur demeure, mais ne pouvoyent plus aller en mer, tellement qui'il y avoit apparence qu'ils demeureroyent au seryice des Turcs ou qu'ils deviendroyent Turcs.[1]

Ward was known as Issouf Reis as early as April 1609,[2] and he had definitely 'turned Turk' by the following year.[3] Captain Sampson, who, after Ward, was the best known English renegade at Tunis, had probably also apostatized in 1609, or at the latest in 1615, when he had taken the name Ali Reis.[4]

Ward continued to serve as a captain in the pirate fleets which he had done so much to create. Late in 1609 he is referred to as 'an old English pirate' who sailed with two Turkish captains to the Levant,[5] and between 1610 and 1612 he sailed in Tunisian squadrons, mainly to the eastern Mediterranean.[6] By this time he was

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1 Van Meteren, op. cit., p.667.

2 Grandchamp, La France en Tunisie au début du xviie siècle, III. 10. Ward, who had been sending money back to his wife in England (H.C.A. 13/39/227: 23 June 1608), was married at Tunis to Jessemina, formerly called Francesca of Palermo.

3 C.S.P. Ven 1610-13, p.100, Correr to Doge and Senate, 23 December 1610.

4 Pignon, op.cit., p.203 n. 160.

5 C.S.P. Ven. 1610-13, p.560.

6 On 27 November 1610, the governor of Zante reported that 'this thief of a Ward both by fire and by wreck is in a bad way', but in December Ward was with a fleet of Tunisian bertons plying between Cerigo and Cape Spada and he captured a French sattia laden with wine and cheese. In January 1611 he was off the Spanish coast and in July he sailed with six gallies and four great bertons for the Adriatic. In March 1612, the Venetian ambassador at Constantinople complained to the Grand Vizier that Ward had taken the Valnegrina. (Ibid., pp. 83, 97-8, 105, 173, 308)

well integrated into the Turkish military system, so that he may better be considered a Turkish corsair, owing allegiance to Constantinople, than an English pirate. For example, in March 1610 an order was sent for him to join the main Turkish fleet, or else to send thirty or forty gunners to the capudan pasha at Rhodes.[1] He also found time to enjoy his old age, for the traveller Lithgow, who visited Tunis, dined with him in a 'faire Palace beautified with rich Marble and Alabaster Stones', where he lived with fifteen other English renegades, 'whose lives and Countenances were both alike, even as desperate as disdainfull'.[2] When Lithgow again met 'Generous Waird' in 1616, he was conducting experiments to hatch eggs in camel dung,[3] but he had apparently not forsaken his old profession, for in 1618 he was in company with Captain Sampson at Modone,[4] and in 1622, when he was nearly seventy, he had a hand in the capture of the Martinella.[5] He probably died soon after in a plague at Tunis, and his body was fittingly thrown into the sea.[6]

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1 Ibid., p.440, Contarini to Doge and Senate, 7 March 1610.

2 Lithgow, op. cit., p.315.

3 Ibid., pp. 334-5.

4 C.S.P. Ven. 1617-19, p.365, Nodal Donato to Doge and Senate, 29 November 1618. They were reported to have taken the Foscarina the previous year. Ewen believed Ward's piratical career ended in 1612 (Ewen, Captain John Ward, "Arch Pirate", p.12). In 1620, Ward freed some English captives who had been brought to Tunis in the Elizabeth, Anne, Judith, which had been captured returning to England from Zante (H.C.A. 13/43/111: 17 November 1620).

5 C.S.P. Ven. 1621-3, pp. 245-6, Statement of Zorzi Santorini, master of the Martinella, 11 February.

6 Ibid., p.421, Report of Captain Robert Axton of the Hercules, 13 September 1622.

Sampson was also a thorough Turcophil. He eventually held a more important position at Tunis than Ward, for he became admiral of the bertons of Youssef Dey (1610-37), who succeeded Cara Osman. However, he did not long survive Ward. On 4 June 1624, with only three men-of-war, he engaged fourteen Maltese and Sicilian gallies for six hours before he was finally taken prisoner by the marquis of Santa Cruz and chained to the oar.[1] Important as they were in the Tunisian fleet, Ward and Sampson were relics of a bygone era. Although the depredations of the Barbary corsairs, and in particular those of Algiers, increased during the second decade of the century, very few Englishmen were ever aboard their ships, for piracy was no longer attractive when it became a Turkish preserve. In 1621, on hearing that a rich band of English pirates were seeking asylum at Venice, Sir Henry Wotton reflected that:

> At first the voice went that Samson (our renegado) was head of this offer. Then we fell to remember that the pirates at Tunis (which is his nest) are not masters of the money which they take, nor of the very vessels wherein they go, which are commonly overmanned by Turckes, so that now we know not where to fix this huge oblation.[2]

A few Englishmen can be found in the service of the Turks at Algiers, even after the defection of Danser in 1609. Prominent amongst them was Sir Francis Verney, who, unable to obtain his disputed inheritance in England, had sold up all his possessions, including the family seat at Penley, by July 1608.[3] He must have made his way to Algiers, for in October 1609 he was reported to be 'a strong pirate upon the Barbary coast' and to have captured three

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1 Pignon, op.cit., p.203 n.160.

2 Logan Pearsall Smith, The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton, 2 vols., Oxford, 1907, II. 215.

3 'Verney Papers', ed. John Bruce (Camden Soc. LVI, (1853), p.95.

Newfoundland fishing vessels, besides seizing a cargo of Bordeaux wine which was destined for James' table.[1] The following month, with a predominantly Turkish crew, which included only four or five Englishmen, Verney was reported to have taken a vessel of Lyme Regis and to have apostatised.[2] Yet he was soon in difficulties, for he was reported to have lost two or three of his ships and to be in debt to the Turks.[3] In March 1611 he was a private soldier in a 400-ton Algerine man-of-war manned by 150 Turks and thirty Englishmen, which deprived the Little Susan of London of four men and a barrel of gunpowder off Cape Paul,[4] but later that year he must have fled to Florence, where he was referred to as a 'miserable runnagate'.[5] His adventures finally ended in the hospital of St. Mary of Pity at Messina, on 6 September 1615.[6]

The captain of the Algerine warship in which Verney served as a soldier was another English gentleman, Ambrose Sayer of St. Michael Penkville in Cornwall. He had sailed from England late in Elizabeth's reign in the Francis, a privateer captained by his brother Vespasian Sayer. Both brothers were arrested for piracy at the island of Combola, on the orders of the duke of Tuscany, and Ambrose spent four years in a Florentine gaol before he was freed - only to spend a

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1 H.M.C. Downshire, II. 160, Beaulieu to Trumbull, 9 October 1609; S.P. 89/3/134, Lee to Wilson, 11 October 1609.

2 H.C.A. 1/47/48: 11 November 1609; H.M.C. Twelfth Report (4), vol. I. 421, George Bonn to earl of Rutland, 28 November 1609.

3 C.S.P.V. 1607-10, p.481, Correr to Doge and Senate, 6 May 1610.

4 H.C.A. 1/47/204: 21 June 1611.

5 S.P. 98/2/280, H. Locke from Florence, 15 June 1611.

6 'Verney Papers,' Camden Soc. LVI, (1853), pp. 100-1.

further three years in the hands of the Inquisition at Rome. The College of Cardinals eventually sent him to serve in the Spanish Sicilian fleet, but in 1610, after only six month's service, he made his escape, along with other English and Dutch protestants, in a Spanish ship, and sailed to Algiers whence he vowed to take his revenge on all Catholics.[1] Sayer's subsequent career at Algiers only underlines the mistrust which existed between the Turks and the renegades they sheltered, and the impossibility of operating independently from Turkish bases. Hewitt Staper, an Englishman at Algiers, was well aware of these problems. On 8 September 1610 he wrote to Salisbury putting forward an offer by Sayer, who was willing to use his 400-ton warship to burn the shipping at Algiers in return for a pardon and some reward. Staper clearly saw that the success of Sayer's plan was not as important as the breach it would create between the renegades and the Turks, for:

> Either part or the most being thus ruined, the attempt of Dansker and his massacre made and now this treachery, will be such a precedent that infidels will cease to entertain our nation in shipping, who have been the foundation of the mischief committed.[2]

In fact, Sayer stayed at Algiers and committed several piracies on Spanish and French shipping between 1610 and 1612. However, like Verney, he soon became indebted to the Turks, and although he was sent to sea as 'admiral' of a fleet of five Algerine ships, his vessels were overmanned by Turks, and he was forced to take all his prizes back to Algiers. In 1613, Sayer was captured at Sally by Captain Duppa, an Englishman living at Leghorn, who sent him

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1 H.C.A. 13/98/55: 10 June 1613; B.M. Cott. MS. Nero B VII, f.258, duke of Tuscany's reply to James' complaints. James had written to the duke to intercede for the release of the Sayer brothers on 20 October 1607 (B.M. Cott. MS Nero B VII, f. 264).

2 H.M.C. Salisbury, XXI, 250.

back to England where he was tried and convicted for piracy.[1]

During the following years a few other Englishmen held important posts in the naval squadrons of Algiers. This was especially true after the summer of 1614, when the Spanish captured Mamora, the most important base for English pirates operating in the Atlantic.[2] There was no chance for the disinherited pirates to establish another independent pirate port anywhere in North Africa similar to Mamora,for all other ports in Barbary were firmly under the control of the Turks and Moors or the Spaniards. True, there were many open roadsteads on the Barbary coast, but they were unsatisfactory, since ships could not ride out bad weather in safety and there was no guaranteed mart for the pirates' booty. Thus, the only alternatives open to the refugees from Mamora were to return to England, to seek a pardon from one of the Italian states, or to go to Tunis or Algiers and serve in Turkish squadrons under vastly inferior conditions to those which they had enjoyed at Mamora.[3]

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1 H.C.A. 1/6/98-100; 13/98/55-6: 10 June 1613. Duppa lived at Leghorn and traded with the English and Dutch pirates on the Moroccan coast and was therefore hostile to any Englishman in the service of the Turks, with whom the duke of Tuscany was perpetually at war. Sayer must have escaped execution, for in May 1614 he was in London under the alias of Courting trying to hire men for a voyage to Ireland and Spain. Soon after, he and some accomplices surprised the Mary Margaret, killing the master's mate and the bosun, and went to sea, although Sayer himself had been badly wounded in the fight. (H.C.A. 13/98/195-6, 200, 205-6: 21-3 June, 20 July 1614).

2 Infra, p. 161 et seq.

3 De Castries, Sources inédites, Angleterre II. 547-8, Memoir of Anthony Sherley, 2 November 1622.

A few chose the last alternative. On 28 June 1615, when the Susan Constance of London was captured by six Algerine men-of-war between Cadiz and San Lucar, five of the pirate ships, crewed mainly by Turks, were captained by Walsingham, Haggerston, Clark, Kelly and one Browne of Limehouse - all Englishmen, at least three of whom had been prominent in the Atlantic.[1] Robert Walsingham, who had been put in command of this squadron by the Turks, had been a pirate in the Atlantic since 1612, and had come to Algiers after the fall of Mamora.[2] In January 1617, he was the 'admiral' of six strong Turkish warships which savagely attacked the Dolphin of London off Sardinia. On this occasion, Captain Kelly and Captain Sampson, the English renegade from Tunis, were in command of two of the Turkish ships.[3]

Despite the presence of a few English captains of note, the contribution of English pirates to the naval strength of Barbary in the second decade of the century was minimal. L.P. Smith states that by the time of Wotton's second embassy to Venice (1616-19), 'he was no more troubled by disputes as to trade and piracy; the English pirates seem to have been driven from the Adriatic.'[4] The Moriscos, who were expelled from Spain in 1609, were probably more instrumental in the expansion of the fleets of Algiers, Tunis and Sally than any English pirates who remained in the ports of North Africa. On 1 October 1616, Francis Cottington writing from Spain reported that:

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1 H.C.A. 1/48/64, 67: 14 December 1615, 29 January 1616.

2 H.C.A. 1/48/175-6: 16 July 1618.

3 Thomas Lediard, The Naval History of England, 1066-1734, 2 vols., 1735, II. 440-3.

4 Smith, op. cit., I. 163.

> They [the Turkish corsairs] have few or no Christians abord them, but all eyther Turks or Moores, and ye most part are of those which of late years were turned out of Spaine for Moriscoes.[1]

In fact, even those English who did take service with the Turks about this time do not seem to have remained with them for long. Many were captured by Spanish galleons and condemned to the oar in Spanish gallies, while others simply deserted.[2] In 1615 a pirate named Fry stole a ship of 140 tons and fled from Tunis with a British crew of eighty, forty or fifty of whom were master gunners.[3] Other captains followed Fry's example. James Haggerston, who had commanded Algerine man-of war, was lying low in England in 1617[4] and in the following year Walsingham came to Ireland and was taken to London to stand trial for his crimes.[5] By 1620, when Sir Robert Mansell was sent to subdue the corsairs of Algiers, there were very few British renegades left in the city.[6]

English pirates who found the Barbary coast inhospitable did not need to look far for alternative havens. Ferdinand I, grand duke of Tuscany, was anxious to secure their services to enhance his maritime ambitions against the Turks. After the Anglo-Spanish peace, Ferdinand

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1 B.M. Harl. MS. 1580, f. 352, Cottington to Winwood.

2 S.P. 94/19/11, Digby to Salisbury, 19 January 1613.

3 Capt. John Smith, Works 1608-1631, ed. Arber, pp. 221-2, 734-5.

4 H.C.A. 1/48/171: 8 June 1618.

5 H.C.A. 1/48/175: 16 July 1618.

6 B.M. Add. MS. 36445, f.20, James to bashaw and duana of Algiers, 16 August 1620.

had built up his navy by the purchase of English ships,[1] and he had always been aware of the possibilities of harnessing the strength of the English corsairs to his own advantage, as shown by the encouragement he had given to Sherley and Gifford. In 1607, Sir Henry Wotton condemned the grand duke for the way in which he 'shelters and caresses the worst of the English, men who are publickly proclaimed pirates by the King.'[2] The following year, the duke was still employing English sailors, for the Susan of Bristol was taken at Lisbon by Captain Brocket, who had aided Gifford at Algiers, and by Captain Ballindore, both of whom were sailing under the Tuscan flag.[3] Although the duke was unable to draw Ward into his service in 1609, he continued to encourage English pirates to come to Tuscany. Late in 1610, Captain Barry, an English pirate, arrived at Mamora with the duke's promise to protect all those pirates who were prepared to submit. This offer was apparently well received, for several leading pirates were reported to be 'bounde for Leghorne for a protecion.'[4]

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1 S.P. 98/2/259, A list of English ships in the service of the duke of Florence, 1608 (?). They were the Prosperous, 200 tons, purchased from Thomas Alibaster, merchant; the Dragon, 300 tons, purchased from Sir John Fearne; the Little Exchange of Bristol, 140 tons, sold four years ago by White of Ratcliffe; a similar vessel sold at the same time; the Mathew, 200 tons, confiscated; the William and Thomas, 200 tons, confiscated; the Triumph, 180 tons, stayed; the Mayflower, 300 tons, taken by the duke but cast away and the Royal Exchange, 300 tons, licensed by the duke against the Turks, but cast away in the road of Leghorn. The duke's agent in London told him not to worry about alienanting James by confiscating English merchantmen, 'because with 500 crownes spending they could salve any thing heare in England at his pleasure.'

2 C.S.P. Ven. 1607-10, p.4, 11 June.

3 H.C.A. 1/47/93: 27 March 1610. The Susan was recaptured by other English pirates at Safi, who claimed that they were merely rescuing her from Brocket and Ballindore.

4 H.C.A. 1/47/193, 196, 199: 31 May, 4, 18 June 1611. The pirates who went to Leghorn included Captain Wood and Mark Low, one of Captain Hussey's men.

The duke's activities were particularly irritating to James. The employment of 'infamous pirates fled out of England'[1] against Turkish shipping complicated English trade to Turkish dominions and gave the Barbary corsairs an excuse to take reprisals against English merchantmen.[2] In fact, the English fell between two stools: not only were they robbed by the pirates of Barbary, but their ships and cargo were also confiscated by the Tuscans if they were found to be carrying Turkish goods or passengers.[3] James sent Stephen le Sieur to Tuscany in 1608 to negotiate for the restoration of English vessels which had been stayed by order of the grand duke, but the mission was unsuccessful.[4] The only other course of action open to James would have been to issue letters of marque to his merchants, but this would have caused him more problems than it would have solved. Ferdinand's unobliging attitude serves to highlight the difficulties which the English government faced in controlling its own subjects who took to piracy in the Mediterranean. Correr, the Venetian ambassador in England, writing in 1609, said of James and the Privy Council, that 'for all they had studied the question they could not hit upon anything that would injure the prince to any extent.'[5]

The duke himself could not always control the ruthless adventurers who were drawn to Tuscany by his policies. In about November 1609, Christopher Webb, captain of the Patience of Bristol, made a charter-party at Leghorn to carry goods reputed to be worth £30,000 to Lisbon.

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1 B.M. Cott, MS. Nero B VII, f. 244.

2 S.P. 71/1/15, Mustapha, bashaw of Algiers, and Moratter Reis, general at sea, to James, 2 February 1607.

3 B.M. Cott. MS Nero B VII, ff. 243-4.

4 C.S.P. Ven. 1607-10, p. 148, Roberto Lio to Doge and Senate, 12 July 1608.

5 Ibid., p. 243, Correr to Doge and Senate, 12 March.

In fact the contract was a plot to defraud the insurers. It was arranged that Webb should return to Leghorn and claim that his precious cargo had been lost at sea or taken by pirates. For his part in the deception he was to have the false packs (which he was told would be worth £1,500) for his own use. However, the only items of value were some turbans and pieces of gold and silver cloth. The rest of the bulk was made up of pieces of rope, cotton cloth, glass beads and 'brick batte' and worth no more than £300 in all. Discovering that he had been duped, Webb sailed to Mamora and sold what he could to the Moors and to some English pirates who were in the harbour. He then decided that rather than return to Leghorn he would cut his losses and take to piracy. Accordingly he fitted out the Patience as a man-of-war and embarked on his new career in August 1610, when he captured a Portuguese frigate laden with sugar and Brazil wood valued at £1000.[1]

The duke's policy of offering protections to pirates was generally so successful that it encouraged other rulers to risk censure in the pursuit of financial gain. Early in 1613, the duke of Savoy, jealous of Leghorn's prosperity, issued a proclamation making Nice and Villefranche free ports and offering asylum and safe-conduct to all.[2] Even before the proclamation was published, this news had reached Peter Easton, the most famous English pirate of the day. His piracies in the Atlantic had ranged from Ireland to Guinea and he had wrought havoc amongst the fishermen on the Newfoundland Banks. On 20 February 1613, Easton sailed into Villefranche at the head of four ships and 900 soldiers, leaving eight more of his vessels outside the Straits of Gibraltar.[3]

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1 H.C.A. 1/6/72; 1/47/174-6: 23 March 1611.

2 C.S.P., Ven. 1610-13, p. 503. The ports were not free for merchants trading between the Adriatic and Gibraltar.

3 Ibid., pp.501-2, Vicenzo Gussoni to Doge and Senate, 3 March 1613; S.P. 92/1/92-3, William Parkhurst to [Lord Rochester], 20 February 1613.

The duke of Tuscany had tried to persuade Easton to go to Leghorn for a protection and the duke of Guise had tried to draw him into Marseilles, but Easton had preferred Savoy because there were few merchants in the state who had suffered at his hands and he therefore hoped to be able to use his fortune to buy friends. After Easton arrived at Villefranche, he went to Turin and soon obtained an audience with the duke of Savoy who was anxious to meet him. The two men were able to converse in Spanish and Easton, being something of a novelty, was an immediate favourite with the court. Easton presented the duke with an inventory of his booty, which he conservatively valued at 100,000 crowns, and agreed to invest all of his wealth in the state and to give the duke some percentage in return for an annual income.[1] The duke then made the appropriate concessions to public

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1 S.P.92/1/98-101, Parkhurst to [Rochester], 20 March 1613. Parkhurst reported that 'The reasons which are here thought to move the Duke in his favor are these:

1. To drawe the greatest part of his money out of his hands by some contract for yearely revenue.

2. To employ him against the Turke in some enterprise togeather with his Gallies.

3. To furnish that port with such vessell as in occasion might divert that coast of Provence from infesting him.

4. To have shipping alwayes ready there to accompany in all accidents his pretensions uppon Saccona: A citty pleasantly seated neare the sea, and now under governement of the Republic of Genoa, but properly confirminge with his Highnes' territories.

5. To entice others of his occupation into this port which with his practise none of them having adversary in this state is thought a very easy project.

6. Lastly to embarque him towards the same mine whereof hee hath brought hither a tast.' (this last refers to a story Easton told of a mine from which he had refined pure gold).

opinion to justify his action to other states. He declared that no pirates who were guilty of laesa Majestas would be protected, and those who were not Catholics had to agree not to act in any way likely to cause scandal.[1] The duke even went so far as to promise James that he would ensure the restoration of any goods which Easton had plundered from English merchants.[2] Many men thought the duke intended to betray Easton as soon as he had him in his power,[3] but William Parkhurst, the English secretary in Savoy, gloomily prophesied that 'yf his end answere this begining, no doubt his trade will growe in good request.'[4] Easton soon ingratiated himself further with the duke by his conduct in Savoy's raid against the duchy of Mantua, of which Parkhurst wrote:

> Easton and his company did wholy manage the duk's artigliery, and truly I cannot conceale the credit and favor they have gotten by this service; in the generall love of all the campe, and the particular and infinite testimony which the Duke doth yet and dayly give of theire dexterity and valor.[5]

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1 C.S.P. Ven 1610-13, p. 503.

2 The goods belonging to English merchants at Villefranche were valued at 40,000 crowns (S.P. 92/1/98-9, Parkhurst to [Rochester], 20 March 1613). A Captain Brocket arrived at Turin and presented James' letters to the duke for the restitution of the Concord of London and her cargo. Eventually the duke agreed to restore the ship, which was in a bad condition, and the few goods which remained in her valued at only 4,000 crowns (S.P. 92/1/191-2, Parkhurst to Rochester, 8, 22 August 1613).

3 C.S.P. Ven. 1610-13, p.510, Gussoni to Doge and Senate, 16 March 1613.

4 S.P.92/1/99, Parkhurst to [Rochester], 20 March 1613.

5 S.P.92/1/131-2, Parkhurst to Rochester, 25 April 1613.

For his service in the duke's seige-train Easton was awarded a pension of £4,000 a year and was sworn to faithful service.[1] He set the seal on his success when he became a Catholic, married an heiress, and was created a marquis.[2] Yet he was never allowed to forget the origins of his good fortune, for he was known at court as 'Il corsaro Inglese.'[3]

The English rovers who settled in Savoy made little or no mark on naval affairs in the Mediterranean. Easton himself was probably glad to desert his old way of life for his new-found respectability. True, he was placed in command of four ships for a Sayoyard attack on Venice, but they were manned by incompetent French crews and were reported to be 'more like boxes than ships of war'.[4] On 23 October these vessels and some of the duke of Savoy's gallies were destroyed by a storm while they were in harbour at Villefranche.[5] After this, Easton's naval skills were never used again by the duke.

Most of the pirate crews who sailed to Italy with Easton were never called upon to serve the duke at sea. Nor were they able to remain in Savoy for long, for Easton showed no affection or loyalty to his old shipmates and forced them either to return to England or to piracy. On 20 March 1613, only a month after he had surrendered, Parkhurst reported that Easton 'hath quitted most part of his company and (for good example I thinke) sent them begging homewards: himself and the rest heere are gallant in variety of clothes and colours.'[6] Even those

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1 Ibid.

2 C.S.P. Ven. 1613-15, p.91, Andrea Surian to Doge and Senate, 5 February 1614.

3 S.P. 92/1/132, Parkhurst to Rochester, 25 April 1613.

4 C.S.P. Ven. 1613-15, p. 14. See also pp. 35, 39, 66.

5 S.P. 92/1/211, Parkhurst to Rochester, 7 November 1613. The ships destroyed were the Concord of London, the Jacob of London and a French and a Dutch ship, all taken by Easton.

6 S.P. 92/1/100, Parkhurst to [Rochester].

few intimates - about sixty in number[1] - who did remain with Easton in Savoy, did not survive for long. After the shipwreck of his squadron the duke sent messengers to Barbary to try to attract more pirates to join his service. However, Easton merely seized on this as an opportunity to rid himself of 'divers mutinous and chargeable captaines (as they call them) which hang about him att others' cost; for he meaneth not to goe himself, and they possibly meane not to retorne'.[2]

One of these 'mutinous and chargeable captaines' was Thomas Tucker. He had been employed as a soldier, along with the other English seamen who had remained in Savoy. For this, the duke had paid him 25 crowns a month and his food. After nearly a year's service, Tucker was discharged and at Christmas 1613 he left Italy and sailed to Mamora, after which he continued his piratical career in British waters.[3] In April 1614 he and his crew, most of whom had also left Savoy, were robbing vessels off Flamborough Head in a small thirty-ton bark.[4]

The English pirates of Mamora who worked the waters of the Atlantic had always been in close contact with the Italian ports, especially with Leghorn, which provided an ideal mart for their booty, which was then carried overland to Goro and Ancona for reshipment to the Levant.[5] James Duppa, an Englishman living at Leghorn, had regular trading contacts at Mamora, where his younger brother, Michael Duppa, was one of the leading pirate captains. On one occasion James equipped two Flemish vessels with money, cloth and clothes, which were bartered for the pirates' prizes, and

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1 S.P. 92/1/177, Parkhurst to Rochester, 13 June 1613.

2 S.P. 92/1/211, Parkhurst to Rochester, 7 November 1613.

3 H.C.A. 1/48/52: 22 July 1615.

4 H.C.A. 13/98/186: 23 May 1614.

5 C.S.P. Ven. 1610-13, p. 362, Foscarini to Doge and Senate, 24 May 1612.

another time he sent Captain Barry from Leghorn in a 200-ton flyboat to buy sugars and spices which had been plundered from the Portuguese by his brother.[1] Richard Thornton was another Englishman domiciled in Italy who made a profit from trading with pirates. This was probably the same Richard Thornton, who, in September 1607, had bought the Benjamin Bonaventure, 160 tons, then in Dartmouth, from the Dutch admiralty, and fitted her out - ostensibly as a Newcastle collier.[2] He had probably spent some time in the English pirate fleet in the Atlantic,[3] but by 1613 he was trading with the pirates from Villefranche.[4] It was Thornton who, in 1613, in a ship purchased at Leghorn, took Tucker and some others of Easton's old company from Villefranche to Mamora.[5]

The English pirates at Mamora often talked of going to Leghorn or Savoy for a pardon, where they would undoubtedly have been welcomed. In July 1611 three English pirate captains arrived in Tuscany with the intention of settling at Leghorn.[6] However, by and large the pirates preferred to remain at Mamora, until the loss of their port finally forced some of them into service with the Italian princes, just as it had encouraged others to seek employment at Algiers and Tunis. At the

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1 H.C.A. 13/98/190-1, 199: 23 May, 28 June 1614.

2 H.C.A. 13/97/228: 10 October 1608. Thornton had borrowed £140 from Thomas Washer and £200 from Francis Howes of Rotterdam to fit out his ship, but had not repaid them. His identification seems more certain, because two of the crew of the Benjamin, Mark Lowe and Edward Cornish, also ended up at Leghorn (H.C.A. 13/98/199: 28 June 1614; 1/48/48: 15 June 1615).

3 He is mentioned as master's mate in Bishop's ship (H.C.A. 1/47/105: 'A note of the Pirates.')

4 H.C.A. 13/98/199: 28 June 1614.

5 H.C.A. 1/48/52: 22 July 1615.

6 C.S.P. Ven. 1610-13, p.178, Vendramin to Doge and Senate, 9 July 1611.

very moment when Mamora fell to the Spanish, on 7 June 1614, Antoines de Sallettes was in the town as an emissary of the duke of Savoy, trying to persuade the pirates to recognize the duke.[1] No doubt with the loss of their port, some soon availed themselves of this alternative.

Like Easton's men, the English rovers who were attracted to Italy from the Atlantic do not seem to have stayed very long or to have made any significant impression on naval affairs in the Mediterranean. The English were only one of many christian nations whose seamen were drawn into Italian service by the maritime designs of the princes at this period, and crews tended to be truly cosmopolitan. Captain Francke, who had been one of the leading Atlantic pirates, was at Leghorn in 1614, but he is only recorded as having made one ineffectual voyage in the Geranium, one of two ships which were sent out marauding by James Duppa. Although there were several Englishmen aboard both vessels, the crews also included Flemings, Italians and Greeks.[2] Some pirates,

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1 De Castries, Sources inédites, Angleterre, II. 505 n n. 3, 4. De Sallettes had fled to Savoy from Toulon where he was wanted for murder. He escaped inland when Mamora fell and was taken prisoner by the Moors, whom he served as an engineer until he was beheaded in 1626.

2 H.C.A. 1/48/47-8: 15 June 1615. Duppa was captain of the other ship the Falcon. Captain Barry, 'who was a player in England' was his lieutenant and John Brooks master. Francke's master was another Englishman named Marmaduke. Francke did not get on well with Duppa during the two-month voyage and only stayed with him because 'he was bound to the Duke to kepe him company'.

such as Captain Lording Barry, eventually returned home, although they had apparently been well established in Italy. Barry had served in the Atlantic with the pirates and it was he who, in 1610, had carried the duke of Tuscany's pardon to the pirates at Mamora.[1] During the following years he had made voyages from Leghorn for James Duppa,[2] but in 1615 he quit Leghorn in a 100-ton ship which he had purchased for £250, and in August he surrendered at Berehaven in Ireland, 'hopeinge to finde favor of the Lord Admirall and other the officers of the Admiraltie.'[3] Barry and his men were fortunate, for although they were examined by the admiralty in London, they were never brought to trial. One factor which probably encouraged the pirates to return to England at this time was the pardon which had been extended to Henry Mainwaring, the leader of the Atlantic pirates.

Thus, during the second decade of the century the English pirates played only a minor role in the Mediterranean. Many had filtered through the Straits from the Ocean and had made their way to Italy or North Africa, where their careers dragged on for a time. However, the opportunities for independent marauding, which had been so attractive during the early years of the century, had soon vanished, to be replaced by a form of naval warfare - still little better than piracy - but which was strictly controlled by the states concerned. After 1615 English pirates began to disappear altogether from the Mediterranean, some making their way back to England where they were to reappear in their old profession.

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1 Supra, p.86.

2 H.C.A. 13/98/191: 23 May 1614; supra, pp.92-3.

3 H.C.A. 1/48/104: 2 July 1616. Barry had about thirty men with him, all in poor condition, when he was intercepted by a French pirate who gave him victuals and let him pass unharmed (Capt. John Smith, Works 1608-1631, ed. Arber, p.224).

The English corsairs left an indelible mark on the Barbary coast. Many of their contemporaries realised the crucial part which they played, along with the Dutch, in teaching the Turks and Moors the art of sailing 'round' ships and the sophisticated use of munitions.[1] Lithgow, who travelled extensively in North Africa, observed that:

> ... the naturall Turkes were never skilfull in menaging of Sea battels, neither are they expert Mariners, nor experimented Gunners, if it were not for our Christian Runnagates, French, English and Flemings, and they too sublime, accurate, and desperate fellowes; who have taught the Turkes the airt of navigation, and especially the use of munition; which they both cast to them, & then become their chiefe Cannoniers, the Turkes would be as weake and ignorant at sea, as the silly Aethiopian is inexpert in handling of armes on the Land.[2]

In fact, the Turks were not so inexperienced as Lithgow made out. In the sixteenth century, under leaders such as Barbarossa, the ports of Barbary had provided some of the best gallies for the Turkish war effort and Algerine gallies had ventured into the Ocean long before Ward arrived at Tunis.[3] Yet the Turks had no knowledge of sailing ships before English and Dutch pirates came to their ports and revolutionized their naval forces, which until that time had been utterly dependent on the galley. It was the subsequent successes of the Barbary rovers which caused such an outcry in Europe against Christian renegades. So readily did the Turks and Moors take to sailing ships that they soon excelled the North European countries at their own game. In 1620, when Sir Robert Mansell's fleet encountered some Algerine pirates, he marvelled that 'it is almost incredible to relate in how short tyme thoas ships outsayled ye whoal fleet out of sight.'[4]

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1 Infra, p.338.

2 Lithgow, Rare Adventures and Painful Peregrinations, p.169.

3 Infra, p. 338, n.

4 B.M. Harl. MS. 1581 f.70, Mansell to Buckingham, 13 January 1621.

The importance of the short sojurn of the English pirates in Barbary was out of all proportion to their numbers. In little more than a decade they had set the seal on the declining fortunes of Venice and had left behind a terrible legacy in the fleets of Algiers, Tunis and Sally, which were to disrupt Mediterranean commerce and to plunder English shipping even in British waters.

CHAPTER IV

ENGLISH PIRATES IN THE ATLANTIC

English pirates were equally active outside the Mediterranean. For more than a decade after 1604, under such notorious leaders as Bishop, Easton and Mainwaring, they ranged the Atlantic from bases in Ireland and Morocco and defied the attempts of all governments to suppress them. The pirates' depredations were almost without exception committed in the Ocean. Apart from the fact that the passage of the Straits could be dangerous, owing to Spain's active attempts to prevent pirates from entering the Mediterranean,[1] pirates were unlikely to be attracted through the Straits in any case. The inland sea was already swarming with corsairs of many nationalities and there was also a shortage of good harbours, so that a pirate who wanted to operate for any length of time was forced to place himself under the protection of some state.[2] The Straits, therefore, may be seen as a clear dividing line between two distinct areas of piratical activity.

The differences between the Atlantic rovers and the English pirates ensconsed in North African ports who operated in Mediterranean waters, were more than purely territorial. In the early years of the century there had been some movement between pirate crews operating in the two areas, but this became increasingly rare after 1608-9, when the English pirates at Algiers and Tunis were subjected to Turkish control.[3] The Atlantic rovers were composed almost entirely of Englishmen, apart from a few Dutch. They remained in close contact with their country through their links with Ireland, they were fiercely anti-Spanish, and

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1 For example, soon after the cessation of hositilities Spain sent out a force for this specific purpose (S.P. 78/49/136, Thomas Parry to Cecil, 31 May 1603).

2 Supra, p. 93.

3 Supra, pp. 77-8.

they were leinent in their treatment of English shipping. The renegades of Algiers and Tunis, on the other hand, went to sea in the company of Turks and Moors, plundered all Christian shipping and even sold English crews who had offered resistance into slavery. Whereas many of the Atlantic pirates lived in hope of an English pardon, the renegades were permanently outlawed as 'gens perdus, sans foy, sans conscience, & sans Religion ... bannis ou fùitifs de leur pays pour l'enormité de leurs crimes.'[1] The conflicting interests of these two groups was even reflected in their physical appearance. Most of the Atlantic pirates wore their beards long, after the English fashion, while the renegades imitated the Turks, 'for eyther they clipp their beards verye nere or shave them.'[2] Naturally enough, a deep enmity soon developed between these two groups which could show itself on the rare occasions when they came into contact with one another. In 1608, John Jennings and Richard Bishop, who had himself spent some time at Tunis, were lying off the Atlantic coast of Spain at one of the times when John Ward ventured into the Ocean. On this occasion, Hugh Lee, writing from Lisbon, reported that:

> ... there ys great hatred betwixt Ward and theym, and nothing but death will appease theyr quarrell yf they chance to meete one with the other.[3]

It is impossible to study the vigorous outburst of lawlessness in the Atlantic after the peace of 1604 in isolation from the war which had preceded it. Privateering, which had been the basis of English

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1 De Brèves, Relation des Voyages de Monsieur de Brèves, p.360.

2 H.C.A. 13/97/123: 1 March 1608.

3 S.P. 89/3/102, Lee to Wilson, 2 August 1608. It was difficult for ships to leave the Mediterranean, since they needed an easterly wind which usually only blew in September (Mainwaring, Life and Works, II. 30).

naval power, had been mainly conducted in the Ocean off the Spanish coast, and had conditioned the lives of English seamen for twenty years or more. For many, it was a way of life which could not be laid aside by a treaty - especially since Holland was left to continue the struggle against Catholic Spain on her own. As late as 1620, James told Lando, the Venetian ambassador to England, that:

> ... this accursed plague introduced by Queen Elizabeth by permitting piracy to her subjects, is even now too deeply rooted among this people ...[1]

There are obvious connections between Elizabethan privateering and Jacobean piracy. The privateers had frequented the Atlantic ports of Morocco, which were later dominated by English pirates. There were also, of course, many privateers who turned to piracy after the cessation of hostilities. In 1602, William Blanch sailed under Captain Plume in the Anne, a Plymouth privateer, which took to piracy on the Spanish coast. Plume, in consort with Captain Strongman of Weymouth, took a flyboat which was manned by Frenchmen and had a cargo of linen cloth, says and stockings. The booty was sold at Mamora and the proceeds divided amongst the two crews. Plume then burnt the Anne at Mogador and returned to Plymouth in his prize.[2] This voyage is particularly interesting because of the members of the crew who continued as pirates in James' reign. Blanch himself is mentioned as one of the crew who sailed under John Exton in the Green Dragon of Flushing in 1606;[3] and the following year he piloted a Flemish prize into Milford Haven.[4] Henry Cullimore and William Plumley, the quarter-master, are two more of Plume's men whose subsequent careers can be traced.[5] In 1604, Plumley was quarter-master with John Ward,[6] while

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1 C.S.P. Ven. 1619-21, p.356, Lando to Doge and Senate, 10 August 1620.

2 H.C.A. 1/46/56: 10 June 1603.

3 H.C.A. 13/97/45: 15 August 1607.

4 H.C.A. 1/47/243: 19 October 1611.

5 H.C.A. 1/46/57: 10 June 1603.

6 H.C.A. 1/46/196: 4 July 1605;

Cullimore is mentioned as Peter Easton's lieutenant in 1612.[1]

The changed circumstances after the peace certainly played their part in turning men to piracy. Twenty-five years after the war, John Smith wrote that:

> After the death of our most gracious Queene Elizabeth of blessed memory, our Royall King Iames who from his infancie had reigned in peace with all Nations, had no imployment for those men of warre, so that those that were rich rested with that they had; those that were poore and had nothing but from hand to mouth, turned Pirats; some because they became sleighted of those for whom they had gotmuch wealth; some, for that they could not get their due; some that had lived bravely, would not abase themselves to poverty; some vainly, only to get a name; others for revenge, covetousnesse, or as ill; and as they found themselves more and more oppressed, their passions increasing with discontent, made them turne Pirats.[2]

The uneasy situation which existed immediately after the war, especially in the western ports, can be directly attributed to the large numbers of seamen who could find no immediate employment. In mid-1603 the mayors of Bristol, Plymouth and Dartmouth all wrote to the Privy Council telling of the disorder in their towns and of the spoils which were being committed by lawless mariners.[3] John Martyn, mayor of Plymouth, described how,

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1 H.C.A. B/98/25: 11 February 1613. The identification of these men as members of Plume's crew is not certain, but it seems likely, because I have been unable to trace any other pirates with the same surnames.

2 Capt. John Smith, Works 1608-1631, ed. Arber, p. 914.

3 H.M.C. Salisbury, XV. 151, 168, 170, 26 June, 4, 6 July 1603.

> ... there do daily resort heither such a great number of sailors, mariners and other masterless men, that heretofore have been at sea in men of war, and being now restrained from that course do still remain here and pester our town which is already overcharged with many poor people. And some of them do daily commit such intolerable outrages as they steal and take away boats in the night out of the harbour and rob both English and French ...[1]

The upheaval in the maritime population of England, consequent on the peace, hasted R.O. Moore to conclude that piracy was nothing more than the aftermath of war, which disappeared when the old hands died out or left their profession and when there were no new recruits to take their place.[2] However, Stuart piracy soon became important in its own right and cannot be explained simply by the failure of English seamen to adjust to peacetime conditions. Piracy in James' reign was an attractive proposition which drew men from many walks of life unconnected with the sea. Only one of the privateering captains listed by Andrews seems to have been engaged in piracy under James[3], and probably fewer pirates than has generally been supposed served their apprentice-ships in privateers.

Piracy in the Atlantic reached its peak between the years 1608-14 - more than five years after privateering had officially ended. Piracy was certainly not seen by contemporaries as a dying force, declining in strength as the war years receded. Rather it was a thriving occupation which had become so attractive to new recruits that it was difficult to control its spread. In 1608, when English pirates were gaining strength in the Ocean, it was feared 'that where there was now one sail of pirates, within this half year for every one there would be 20.'[4]

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1 Ibid., p.151, 26 June 1603.

2 Moore, 'Some Aspects of English Piracy', pp. 248-9.

3 Andrews, Elizabethan Privateering, appendix. This was Richard Bishop, named as captain of the Black Bishop of Yarmouth, 50 tons, in 1591. William Harvey is also named as the captain of the privateer the William in 1591, but since the name is a common one, there is no certainty that this man is to be identified with the pirate of the same name.

4 H.M.C. Salisbury, XX. 236.

Although it is impossible to estimate just how many of the pirates were Elizabethans, it is certain that several of the leading pirate captains had never seen any kind of war service. Henry Mainwaring, 'admiral' of the Atlantic fleet in 1614, was born in 1587 and did not go to sea until 1611 at the earliest.[1] Captain William Baugh, another of the most notable Atlantic rovers, was only twenty-five years old in 1613,[2] and James Harris, who was indicted for two piracies on French vessels near Cape Finisterre in 1609, did not go to sea until 1605.[3] Piracy evidently attracted young blades as well as ancient mariners. The inexperience of many of the pirates in 1609 may be gauged from the fact that Richard Jobson, vice-admiral of Munster and a man who knew most of the leading pirates of the day, advocated pardoning an old sea-dog named Thompson, because:

> ... it is well knowen hee is the onely pirate this daie in the Sea, for his true understandeinge of all remote harbors bothe in Engelande, Irelande and all other Cuntries wheere men of theire wicked condition resorte ...[4]

From this it is clear that although the Anglo-Spanish peace helped to create favourable conditions in which piracy could flourish, it is wrong to assume that Jacobean pirates were essentially unemployed privateers, and that piracy was nothing more than a by-product of the Spanish war. The activities of English pirates do not show a gradual decline in the post-war years. Indeed, piracy in the Atlantic did not gather its full momentum until almost a decade after the war had ended. Sir Ferdinando Gorges ~~laid most of the blame for the increase in piracy on the inherent dishonesty of the maritime population.~~ observed that unemployment amongst the maritime population was not the only reason for the increase in piracy. In 1611,

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1 Mainwaring, Life and Works, I. 5-6.

2 H.C.A. 13/98/82: 23 July 1613.

3 H.C.A. 1/6/7-8; 1/47/32: 17 August 1609. Harris would have been twenty-five in 1605.

4 H.C.A. 1/47/107: 21 April 1610.

~~he wrote:~~
Eight years after the end of the war, he wrote:

> Yt is true this peaceable tymes affords no meaines of ymployments to the multitude of people that daylie doe increase and manie be inforced (by necessitie) to seeke some wayes to sustaine themselves, and although this (of all other) bee the worst, yet to such in whome thereis no scaling /?/ of honestie or Religion (as in the multitude there is little) even this Course is aplauded, and therefor their nomber the likelier daylie to increase.[1]

England's relations with Spain after the peace were not entirely amicable. There was still undeclared war 'beyond the line', in the waters of the New World, which Spain jealously guarded against all interlopers. Although James never encouraged his seamen to plunder the Spaniards in the disputed seas, British subjects were unlikely to be called in question for such actions in England, so long as they had not embarked on a deliberate course of piracy.[2] Of course, there was no chance that such spoils would be condoned in England, but many of the pirates continued at sea in the belief that sooner or later the resumption of war with Spain was inevitable and that they would be welcomed back to the fold.[3] Many of the pirates considered themselves to be bound up with the true destiny of England, and like Mainwaring, viewed their depredations as pulchrum scelus - a noble crime.[4]

Because of their misguided patriotism, English pirates in the Atlantic always lived in the hope that their crimes were pardonable, and unlike their Mediterranean counterparts, they usually treated

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1 S.P. 14/65/16, Gorges to Salisbury, 5 July 1611.

2 Supra, p. 17.

3 Mainwaring, Life and Works, II. 21. In an obsequious petition to the Privy Council begging a pardon for Richard Bishop, William Wollman and their men, it was claimed that they had taken to piracy in the belief that the war with Spain would soon be resumed. (B.M. Cott. MS. Otho E. VIII, f. 170).

4 Mainwaring, op. cit., II. 11.

English ships which they intercepted with respect. The examination books of the High Court of Admiralty contain many testimonies to this fact by masters of English merchantmen. The pirates took food, drink and other necessities and usually offered to pay for them. The masters and seamen of the merchant ships were of course anxious to conceal any over-familiarity or dealings which they had had with the pirates (whom they sometimes knew), but the friendly nature of such meetings nevertheless emerges on many occasions. Sometimes the pirates even entrusted money or goods in the English ships to be delivered to their families. On the whole, these encounters were no cause for alarm. True, the pirates abducted mariners from the ships they stopped, but they usually took only a few of the more skilled men. Again, although ships' masters nearly always swore that their men had been carried off 'against their wills', crying and pleading with the pirates to release them, there is every possibility that their men were often only too pleased to be seen to be forced to go with the pirates, in case they might need to explain their actions at some later date.[1]

One good example of the leinency of English pirates towards English shipping occurred in March 1611, when Captain Smith, in a French-built man-of-war, intercepted the Elizabeth and Mary off the northern cape of Spain as she was returning from Malaga. Smith took some tackle and provisions and a few men out of the English ship, yet the master testified that Smith

> ... was loth as yt seemed to take ... any of his merchants' goodes ... beinge englishemens' goodes, but only in regard of his wantes of the said necessaries ...

Smith was more than apologetic, for he insisted on paying for what he had taken with two small gold ingots.[2] English pirates often restored

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1 Infra, pp. 224-5.

2 H.C.A. 1/47/189: 9 May 1611.

their countrymens' goods which they had taken by mistake. After Bishop and Jennings brought the Almanac to Baltimore in 1608, they discovered that much of her lading belonged to English merchants. Accordingly, they delivered the goods to James Samon, who shipped them over to Bristol for their rightful owners.[1]

Henry Mainwaring prided himself on his fair treatment of all British subjects. In his Discourse he describes how after becoming a pirate he strove 'to do all the service I could to this state and the merchants.'[2] He claimed that he never plundered his own countrymen and that he safeguarded English interests against the Turkish pirates of Algiers, Tunis and Sally and restored any booty taken from British ships whenever possible.[3] This was no idle boast. Mainwaring redeemed English prisoners from the Moors at Sally, as other English pirate captains had done before him.[4] On 13 August 1613 he captured the Golden Lion of Lubeck, 250 tons, off Oporto, as she was returning from San Lucar in Spain to Galway, where she had been freighted on behalf of Valentine Blake, an Irish merchant. Mainwaring took his prize into Mamora, and freed James Linch, the factor for the Irish merchants, and allowed him to sail off in a small bark loaded with 2,000 pipestaves. However, when Mainwaring discovered that a great deal more of his loot was the property of Irishmen, he recalled Linch to Mamora and restored Irish yarn, linen, aloes and some more pipestaves. Mainwaring even gave Linch a promissory note, based on an exaggerated valuation of the cargo by Linch himself, to pay the value of those goods which he was unable

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1 H.C.A. 13/97/274: 25 January 1609.

2 Mainwaring, op. cit., II. 9

3 Ibid., II. 10.

4 H.C.A. 13/98/178: 14 April 1614. In 1607, Captain Vaughan had redeemed Richard Duncomb (H.C.A. 1/47/73: 30 December 1609).

to restore.[1]

Some English pirates were less sympathetic. The ship which Linch had hired to go to Mamora to collect the Irish merchants' goods was the Margaret. She was plundered off Cape St. Vincent of her cargo of cloth worth £1,500 by some Englishmen led by Captain Michael Duppa and Alexander Cobham. When this news reached the English pirates at Mamora, John Price, Captain Powel's master, took a collection amongst the pirates for the master of the Margaret who had lost all he had to Duppa.[2]

English pirates were quick to take up the cause of their countrymen who had suffered at the hands of others. In 1608 John Jennings attacked and routed a Dutch pirate vessel (which had captured a Scottish ship and robbed a Barnstaple bark), wounding the Dutch captain and killing five of the crew.[3] In 1611 Captain Francke and Captain

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1 H.C.A. 13/98/178, 180-1, 183, 206: 14, 16 April, 19 May, 21 July 1614. Mainwaring restored fifteen butts of linen cloth and yarn, 1,000 ducats in Barbary gold worth £500 and twenty bags of aloes. The cargo of the Golden Lion was valued at £1,200, and her crew's belongings were worth a further £200. Linch, however, appraised the ship and goods at £1,938 and claimed that the goods belonging to Irish merchants were worth £1,300. Valentine Balke may have made a profit from being robbed, since the freight charges of the Golden Lion were to be paid upon sale of the cargo in Spain, which of course never materialised. Blake had turned a similar situation to his advantage once before. In Elizabeth's reign, some of his goods had been stayed in Spain and he had received compensation, which he had neglected to share with his partners. (H.C.A. 13/98/208: 27 July 1614).

2 H.C.A. 13/98/202-3: 29 June 1614.

3 S.P. 89/3/101-2, Lee to Wilson, 2 August 1608.

Stephenson rescued the George Bonaventure from the Dutch pirate Cornelius at Fedala in Morocco.[1] The following year Peter and Cornelius Peck were forced to put into Mamora. When the English captains discovered that the Peck brothers had spoiled English ships and had forced Englishmen to serve them, they seized Cornelius' ship and freed the prisoners.[2]

Although most of the Atlantic pirates stayed well out to sea, some of them did continue a precarious existence on the English coast for a while. Early in James' reign, many sailed in Dutch privateers marauding in the Atlantic, in the hope that the technicality of sailing under letters of marque would disguise their true purpose. Sometimes the pretence of serving the Dutch was a complete nonsense. The Vineyard, a Dutch 'privateer' was captained by Morgan Brook, an Englishman, and almost completely crewed by English. There were only two Dutchmen aboard: a trumpeter, and one Yonge, who posed as captain when the ship was in English ports.[3] Nevertheless, these Dutch vessels frequented English harbours after the war, and coastal officials, who were usually sympathetic to the Dutch cause, often turned a blind eye to the English crews who manned them - even after 1605 when James forbade his subjects from serving Holland.

Not surprisingly, some of these 'Dutch privateers' turned to outright piracy, and unable to return to England or Holland, spent their lives in the Atlantic. In September 1606, Thomas Sockwell, who later became a notorious pirate captain, sailed from Flushing with twenty other Englishmen in a seventy-ton carvel commanded by a Dutchman . After rifling a Flemish carvel in Brittany, the captain and principal officers returned to Holland, and Sockwell was elected captain. He sailed to

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1 H.C.A. 1/47/224: 24 August 1611.

2 H.C.A. 1/47/276: 9 April 1612.

3 H.C.A. 1/46/227: 19 December 1605.

the Spanish coast, where he took a French ship laden with wheat which was sold at Safi. The pirate ship then put in at Mogador, where Sockwell and ten of his crew captured a 100-ton ship of Flushing - the port from which they had originally sailed with letters of marque. After this the pirates were unable to return to Holland. Sockwell converted the Flushing prize to a man-of-war and took a Brazilman outward-bound near the Madeiras. Using English and Scottish vessels which he encountered to supplement his provisions and his crew, Sockwell eventually retired to the pirate-port of Mamora, to trim his ship and continue his career.[1]

Little by little English harbours were becoming inaccessible to ocean-going pirates. In Elizabeth's reign improved land communications and better naval patrols had meant that there was no safe refuge along the coast between Lincolnshire and the Isle of Wight.[2] Piracy had been gradually forced westwards, and had found a temporary resting-place amongst the sympathetic inhabitants of Devon and Cornwall. However, after the drive by the government in 1608-9 to stamp out aiders and abettors of piracy in the south-west, coastal officers were compelled to be more conscientious in the detection and suppression of piracy, and although landsmen may have been as willing as ever to traffic with pirates, the chances of discovery and punishment were greater than they had been during the early years of James' reign.[3]

Apart from the increased activity of English officers, after 1609 the coastal population could no longer traffic with English pirates under the guise of trading with Dutch privateers, because Holland and Spain had concluded a truce and letters of marque ceased to be issued.

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1 H.C.A. 13/97/32: 5 July 1607.

2 David Mathew, 'The Cornish and Welsh Pirates in the Reign of Elizabeth', E.H.R. XXXIX (1924), p.339.

3 For the effectiveness of government measures against piracy in the south-west, infra, p.280 et seq.

Of course, it had always been dangerous for pirate vessels which made no pretence of being privateers, to leave the Ocean and to venture into the Sleeve to visit English ports. As the pirates became more desperate, and as their strength increased, they were forced to establish their own independent pirate bases outside England beyond the arm of the government.

The movement of piracy to the remotest parts of Britain was already well in evidence by 1608. In that year, Sir Richard Hawkins, vice-admiral of Devon, who had in fact probably done more to encourage pirates to resort to England than any other man, claimed that he had 'forced them to seeke yrland and other places for their releife.'[1] Clearly the English coast was becoming an uncomfortable place even for those rovers who attempted to conceal their identity. For out-and-out pirates refuge was well-nigh impossible.

At the beginning of James' reign, pirates could still find succour in the remoter coastal regions of England and Wales. Milford Haven was fairly popular for a time. French prizes were brought into Milford in 1602 and 1606, and in 1607 a Flemish pirate ship arrived with a cargo of anvils, horseshoes and nails. The pirates found numerous victuallers and receivers for their loot in the town itself, and in the hinterland of Tenby and Pembroke. Not the least of these offenders was George Owen, the vice-admiral, who received a fifty-ton carvel from the pirates Thompson and Curtis in 1606, which he sold to William Rogers of Pembroke. Such corrupt practices did not go unnoticed for long, and Richard Wogan and Nicholas Adams were granted a commission by Nottingham to make enquiries about the disposal of pirate goods at Milford. The popularity of the town as a centre for receiving loot was such that Wogan, a local man, was charged by the offenders with conspiring 'to undoe his Cuntrie.'[2]

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1 S.P. 14/36/21, Hawkins to Nottingham and other Lords of the Privy Council, 18 September.

2 H.C.A. 1/47/242-4: 19 October 1611.

Piracy may have been wiped out in Milford by the savagery of the pirates themselves. Early in 1610. Sockwell, who had set himself up as the king of Lundy Island, entered Milford Haven with a ship of Barnstaple laden with wine and fruit, which he had taken at Lundy as she was returning from Spain. His visit, unlike those of pirates who had visited Milford previously, was not a cause for general rejoicing and an opportunity for illicit trading. In March 1610 he took five vessels in the haven and then went ashore killing sheep, cows and chickens. Finally he entered the town itself, with his 'colours spredd,' fired the houses and robbed two barks on the quay of iron, wine and beer before sinking them.[1] Milford Haven was one of the last places in England or Wales where piracy was supported on a fairly wide basis by aiders and abettors on land. The land-organized pirate network of Elizabeth's reign had given way to the unruly communities of the remote Munster coast, where the pirates were their own masters.

Once they could no longer resort to England and Wales in safety, the pirates were forced to operate from bases in the Atlantic. Using the harbours in Munster and in Morocco, they flourished on a greater scale and on a more professional basis than every before. Mainwaring estimated that piracy increased tenfold in James' reign.[2] No doubt this was an exaggeration, but pirates certainly appeared consorted together in greater numbers and strength than hitherto. Hurd recognized this gulf between the Elizabethan and the Jacobean rovers, and named the new breed 'the international confederacy of deep sea pirates.'[3]

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1 H.C.A. 1/47/112: 30 April 1610. The five vessels taken at Milford Haven were a ship of Southampton, master John Rose, bound for Plymouth with coal and wine, a pinnace of Washford laden with herrings, a Pembroke bark carrying passengers and coal to Ireland, and two more barks laden with corn.

2 Mainwaring, Life and Works, II. 41.

3 Derrick G.E. Hurd, 'Some Aspects of the Attempts of the Government to suppress Piracy during the reign of Elizabeth I', (London Univ. M.A. thesis, 1961), p.303.

The pirates soon developed a most convenient seasonal cycle of operations. They wintered on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, which was the main area for the disposal of their booty. Here, Mamora, a port which had been frequented by English rovers during the Spanish war, soon became of paramount importance as the one secure base from which they could continue to plunder in the Ocean.[1] As soon as the weather improved, however, and peace-keeping forces were able to put to sea in sufficient numbers to hinder the pirates' activity, the pirates sailed northwards. Some went to Newfoundland, where they could victual and equip themselves from the fishing fleets, but the majority made for Ireland. They usually appeared on the Irish coasts in the spring and summer, where they were able to clean, trim and victual their ships, and purchase anything else they required.[2] The predictability of these movements gave the Privy Council no less cause for concern since they were still unable to suppress the pirates. In desperation, the Lords wrote to the lord deputy of Ireland:

> There are but two places from which this desperate crew obtains succour and relief, namely, Barbary and the western coast of Ireland; although the former admits no rule of justice or order, but is all in confusion of barbarism and heathenes, there seems no reason why the latter, being part of His Majesty's kingdom, should not be kept free from such unjustifiable correspondence.[3]

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1 For the importance of Mamora, <u>infra</u>, p.162.

2 <u>C.S.P. Ir. 1608-10</u>, p.371, Remembrances concerning the Public, given to Mr. Treasurer 29 January 1609, 'Letter-Book' of Sir Arthur Chichester, 1612-14', ed. R. Dudley Edwards, <u>Analecta Hibernica</u>, no.8, March 1938, p.120, lord deputy to lord admiral, 4 August 1613. In 1611 it was reported that the pirate fleet was leaving Ireland for Barbary, 'where they would sell these goods, and what else they could get in their way thither, and there attend the season for the Straits.' (<u>C.S.P. Ir. 1611-14</u>, p.90, Capt. Skipwyth to lord deputy, 25 July).

3 <u>C.S.P. Ir. 1611-14</u>, p.238, Council to Chichester, 31 January 1612.

Ireland had always been a refuge for pirates, and had posed some problems for the Tudors.[1] It was the obvious successor to the retreats of south-west England and Wales which had been much in use during Elizabeth's reign.[2] The long indented coastline of Munster, with its innumerable harbours and small islands, was a pirates' paradise. Although it was one of the most remote and backward parts of the British Isles, south-west Ireland was the first landfall for ocean shipping. Here the pirates could stay outside governmental control, whilst remaining close to the main shipping lanes of European commerce. It was easy for the rovers to get in and out of port, while the prevailing winds hindered communications with Dublin and England.[3] It was especially difficult for the meagre naval forces which faced the impossible task of patrolling the Irish coast, because they had to come over to Ireland from their bases in England.[4] Lord Falkland, who succeeded Sir Arthur Chichester as lord deputy in 1616, was so impressed by the potential of the Irish coast that he planned to use it as a base for pirates working in the interests of the English,

> ... being here much more cheaply victualled, much more easily out and in, at and from sea, which lies opener with less impediments of tides and channels, and lands ends and capes to double, which require varieties of wind to serve them together with the singular and secure harbours for ships of all burthens to ride in all weathers.[5]

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1 During the reign of Henry VIII, the lord deputy had to ask for increased powers to combat sea-robbers; and in 1579 a special service was equipped for the Irish coast (C.S.P. Ir. 1611-14, p. lx).

2 Mathew, op.cit., passim.

3 H.C.A. 13/97/234-5: 25 October 1608.

4 Infra, p.296.

5 C.S.P. Ir. 1615-25, p.481, lord deputy to Secretary Conway, 18 April 1624.

The inlets and islands of Roaringwater Bay, on the south-western tip of Ireland, soon became the favourite haunts of the Atlantic rovers. All the places most closely associated with the pirates are to be found in this small area. Leamcon, a sheltered stretch of water between Castle Point and Schull Harbour, was the most frequented resort of pirate ships and was the northern equivalent of Mamora,[1] but Baltimore, Crookhaven, Long Island, Sherkin Island and were all places in the bay where pirates could victual, man and trim their ships at leisure. Other points on the Munster coast such as Youghal, Berehaven, Whiddy Island and Valentia Island harboured pirates at one time or another, but the greatest activity was focused on Roaringwater Bay.

Piracy in Ireland was encouraged by a loop-hole in the law, of which Chichester had cause to complain for most of his deputyship.[2] The act of Henry VIII which provided for the trial of pirates by commission according to the common law, did not apply to Ireland until 1613, when it was extended to that country by an act of the Irish parliament.[3] Thus, for the first decade of James' reign pirates could not be hanged if they were tried in Ireland, and they could even escape scot-free by pleading benefit of clergy.[4] The only alternative was to send the offenders to England for trial.

Richard Jobson, the vice-admiral of Munster, engineered the capture of Captain Thomas Coward and his pirate crew in 1607, but was at such a loss as to how to proceed that he went to England for

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1 Leamcon, meaning Dog's Leap, today only refers to a house and a watch-tower opposite Long Island (Richard Bagwell, Ireland Under the Stuarts, 3 vols., 1909, I. 105 n.).

2 C.S.P. Ir. 1603-06, p.383, Chichester to the earl of Devonshire, 2 January 1606; C.S.P. Ir. 1608-10, p. 473, Chichester to Salisbury, 27 June 1610.

3 Supra, p. 25.

4 C.S.P. Ir. 1603-06, p. 382, Chichester to Devonshire, 2 January 1606.

instructions. Coward was to remain in Ireland for five months before he was sent to England, along with a few of the more important members of his crew.[1] The lord deputy was just as inconvenienced by the inadequacy of the law as was the vice-admiral. In 1612 Chichester had Baugh's pirate crew in gaol and wrote to the Privy Council:

> I pray your Lordships to signifie what shall be don with these in prison, for we have no Law to hang them here, and it will require charge to send them into England.[2]

Because this procedure was so expensive and time-consuming for the Irish authorities most of the prisoners were eventually let off. Sometimes this resulted in gross injustices. In 1609, Sir William St. John, captain of the king's pinnace, arrested the pirate ship of Captain Harris at Baltimore. From a crew of more thanfifty, St. John released all the hardened pirates who had served Harris for years, and only brought four of the crew for trial in England - none of whom had been with the pirates for longer than a month.[3]

After the act of 1613 the difficult situation was ameliorated, although many offenders were still referred to the English court. Sir Adam Loftus was appointed judge of the 'New Court of Admiralty', but there was a shortage of qualified lawyers in Ireland, and Loftus found himself prosecuting as well as judging cases in his own court, 'whereof he maketh a great Scruple of conscience.' To remedy this, Chichester asked for a proctor and advocate of the civil laws to be sent from England. However, the legal position of the Irish court was evidently still unsatisfactory, for Chichester also wrote to the lord admiral for permission to proceed against aidors, abetters and receivers.[4]

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1 H.C.A. 13/97/208: 22 September 1608.

2 Analecta Hibernica, p.36, 25 July 1612.

3 H.C.A. 1/47/62: 8 December 1609.

4 Analecta Hibernica, p. 121, 4 August 1613.

There is no evidence to suggest that the lord deputy or the president and vice-president of Munster were guilty of corruption, although some of the local lords and dignitaries were willing to supplement their income by dealing with the pirates. The O'Sullivans of Bere, who had been involved in piracy under Elizabeth,[1] continued their illicit dealings at Berehaven. Their encouragement helped to make Berehaven an attractive port for pirates and it also became a centre of illicit traffic in pirate booty, drawing as many as forty English barks, ostensibly to fish, but more likely to trade with the pirates.[2] Richard Robinson left Berehaven in 1607, in a flyboat which had been pirated by John Jennings, and took a crew of sixty with him, whom he had recruited ashore.[3] Jennings was there soon after with some goods which he gave to Captain Williams, who was in command of the royal pinnace the Tramontane, and the navy and the pirates spent their time carousing on shore and aboard each others' ships. In the winter of 1610-1611, after watering and victualling at Mamora and Santa Cruz, Captain Thomas Hussy took a Flemish prize on the Spanish coast, laden with masts and deal boards, and brought her into Berehaven, where he was able to refit her in peace.[4] Pirates were not always made so welcome by O'Sullivan. When Captain Sammes 'bulged' his ship at the entrance to Berehaven, O'Sullivan took the crew of thirty prisoner. Even on this occasion, however, he merely stripped them of all they had and freed them, and the next day they were able to pirate an English ship in his harbour.[5]

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1 Mathew, op. cit., pp. 341-2.

2 H.C.A. 13/97/280-I: 26 February 1609.

3 H.C.A. 13/97/136: 23 March 1608.

4 H.C.A. 1/47/205: 21 June 1611.

5 H.C.A. 1/47/82-3: 29 January 1610.

Thomas Crook, a J.P. at Baltimore, was deeply implicated by his dealings with pirates. In 1605, he boarded two English pirate vessels which were at Baltimore under Dunshade Castle. He provided the captains with beef, beer and mutton in return for sugar and other booty. Crook, 'whoe as it seemed ... had some governmente in the porte,' was evidently well organized for these transactions, for his partner Sammon had a monopoly of buying clothes from the pirates and refused to permit anyone else to bargain for them.[1]

The Council eventually called Crook to England to answer the complaints of foreign ambassadors.[2] He was examined in the admiralty court in October 1608, but got off with a cursory examination. He denied trafficking with Captain Boniton or his pirate crew, and claimed that they had only been in his house because they had forced their way in.[3] Chichester, who had already pardoned Crook once for associating with pirates, seems to have had little idea of Crook's real dealings and wrote to the Privy Council on his behalf.[4] The president of Munster also praised Crook, and even the Bishop of Cork wrote in his defence.[5] Not surprisingly, he was finally cleared by the Lords of all imputation of piracy.[6]

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1 H.C.A. 1/46/310-11: 23 January 1607. Crook was also involved with Sir Ralph Bingley, from whom he had purchased a Biscayner laden with pitch and turpentine, which had been taken by Bingley on the Spanish coast. Crook further refused to surrender some goods to Jobson which had been plundered by Bingley from a French ship. (H.C.A. 13/97/17, 208: 1 June 1607, 22 September 1608.)

2 C.S.P. Ir. 1606-08, p.434, Council to Chichester, 8 March 1608.

3 H.C.A. 13/97/234-5: 25 October 1608.

4 C.S.P. Ir. 1606-08, p.447, Chichester to Council, 30 March 1608.

5 C.S.P. Ir. 1608-10, p.100, August 1608.

6 Ibid., pp. 42-3, Council to president of Munster, 27 September 1608. Crook's work in the plantation of Munster was more important to the Council than any dealings he had with pirates.

The full extent of Crook's involvement was not revealed until Richard Jobson, the vice-admiral, appeared in the admiralty court in 1610. If Jobson is to be believed, he had been obstructed by Crook in the performance of his duty. As soon as Jobson went to England for instructions as to how to proceed against Coward and his crew, the whole of Baltimore became engaged in illicit trade with Captain Robinson, who brought cochineal, indigo and ginger into the habour. On his return from England, Jobson arrested one of the chief purchasers of the booty, but was himself arrested on Crook's orders.[1]

Ireland was justly called 'the Nursery and Storehouse of Pirates.'[2] The inhabitants around Roaringwater Bay needed little incitement by men such as O'Sullivan or Crook to traffic with the pirates. Commerce thrived, since it could be conducted with little fear of detection as Munster was beyond the pale. In 1609, when Bishop sailed into Leamcon with his pirate fleet, Sir Richard Moryson, the vice-president of Munster, reported that:

> The continual repair of the pirates to the western coast of this province, in consequence of the remoteness of the place, the wildness of the people, and their own strength and wealth both to command and entice relief, is very difficult ... to prevent or remedy.[3]

The abettors of the pirates on land benefitted from the trade as much as the seafarers themselves. Since the pirates were always too strong to be resisted, the inhabitants could always claim that they were forced into trafficking when in fact little or no persuasion was necessary The countryside was never razed or pillaged, and the Irish suffered very few losses at sea. At the end of James' reign, Lord Falkland made a proposal to extend a pardon to any English pirates who might remain at sea and to settle them in Ireland, because the Irish 'have

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1 H.C.A. 1/47/103: 21 April 1610.

2 Mainwaring, Life and Works, II. 15-16.

3 C.S.P. Ir. 1608-10, p. 277, Moryson to Salisbury, 22 August 1609.

sustained less damage than those of England, by the preys they have taken from them.'[1]

Certainly the economy of the Munster coast was thriving and bore little resemblance to that of an indolent agricultural and fishing community, for it was said:

> That which passeth here is rialls of eight, Barbary ducats, and dollars, and it is thought some treasure is buried on land by these pirates.[2]

There was no reason, apart from the traffic with pirates, why so many people should have chosen to inhabit such a barren land in a remote and insecure corner of the kingdom. Although the population was able to supply the pirates with beer, butter, cheese, bread and other produce, they were themselves dependent on outside supplies.[3]

The pirates resorted to Munster so often that supplying their needs assumed the proportions of a well-run industry. Discovery was so unlikely that it was reported they

> ... may be enterteyned and kept in those alehouses three moneths or more without payment for anything they take, every pyrate having his factor there for whom hee provideth men and other necessaries against their arrivall, and then receiveth payment largely for his paynes, soe that it is a perpetuall markett for that trafficque.[4]

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1 C.S.P. Ir. 1615-25, p.481, Falkland to Conway, 18 April 1624.

2 C.S.P. Ir. 1611-14, p.99, Roger Myddleton to Salisbury, 23 August 1611

3 B.M. Cott. MS. Otho E VIII, ff. 378-9. Fynes Moryson thought the indigenous population of Munster was backward and slothful and noted that they refused to fish even in the calmest weather (Fynes Moryson, 'Itinerary', printed in Illustrations of Irish History and Topography, mainly of the seventeenth century, ed. C. Litton Falkiner, 1904, p.249).

4 Lambeth Palace, S.P. Carew, vol. 629, f. 178, letter of Henry Skipwith, 2 October 1611.

Pirates were prepared to pay inflated prices for their supplies. The dealers could leave goods on the shore, to be collected under cover of night,[1] but generally they preferred the pirates to appear to carry off their provisions by force:

> ... for those that are the theifs and most able relievers of them suffer their goods to be taken forcibly, for which they receive payment to the double valewe, and by that meanes thinke to be freed from the penalty of divers proclamacions forbidding comerce with them ...[2]

Most of the population of Baltimore was living off contraband. In 1607, Massalin, a local butcher, slaughtered 200 cows in Crook's yard for the pirate crews, and John Stiles ran a thriving business on Whiddy Island. The profits were spread throughout the community, for:

> ... generallie the inhabitants theeraboute doe give them entertainement in theire houses, which is donne by divers in respecte they have noe sufficient strengths to resiste them, and generallie by the moste parte for gaine, they takeinge excessivelie of them for such victualles as they sell them.[3]

At Leamcon even Way, the local vicar, had been openly observed to 'victualle and entertaine all manner of pirates.'[4]

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1 Mainwaring, op. cit., II. 17.

2 Lambeth Palace, S.P. Carew, vol. 629, f. 178.

3 H.C.A. 13/97/209: 22 September 1608. The trouble persisted under Izon Kempe, who succeeded Jobson as vice-admiral. Late in 1610 Richard Grice, Kempe's deputy, disclosed the main collecting points used by night and day, as well as naming most of the inhabitants who were implicated. Baltimore, Leamcon, Crookhaven, Sherkin Island and Bantry were still notorious victualling points and a Mr. Davenent who lived on Whiddy Island had victualled Bishop, Easton and Coward with 'beeves and muttes'. (Lambeth Palace, S.P. Carew, Vol. 619, f. 138, 2 December 1610).

4 H.C.A. 1/47/116: 4 May 1610.

Provisions were only one part of a pirate captain's needs. He also had to trim, modify or even careen his vessel and the Munster coast was ideal for this. The pirates were also usually in need of crew members and these were readily available from the 'Guest houses upon the Shore, which are commonly full of Idle Men',[1] or else there were others ready to serve who came from England for the express purpose of joining up.[2]

The coastal population soon adapted its amenities to meet the pirates' more personal requirements. Mainwaring noted that:

> ... they have also good store of English, Scottish and Irish wenches which resort unto them, and these are strong attractors to draw the common sort of them thither.[3]

Prostitution was evidently almost as attractive a prospect as buccaneering. One night, a man called Gibbs loaded his Devonshire bark with booty and sailed away, and 'carryed with him two of the pyratts and some of their whores, aboute fyve in number.'[4]

Notoriety bred success in Munster. The coast soon became the catchment area for all the worst elements in society. Men brought provisions to the pirates from other parts of Ireland, under cover of carrying them to the fishermen at Crookhaven.[5] For example, Henry Cook of Cork delievered twenty-two barrels of beer for Captain Wolmer's ship at Leamcon.[6] However, the main suppliers came from the west of England, since they were no longer able to trade with pirates in England.

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1 Analecta Hibernica, p.62, lord deputy to Lords of Council, 31 October 1612.

2 Lambeth Palace, S.P. Carew, vol. 619, f.141. A treaty for reducing pirates in Munster, c. 1611.

3 Mainwaring, op. cit., II. 39-40.

4 H.C.A. 1/47/81: 29 January 1610.

5 Lambeth Palace, S.P. Carew, vol. 629, f. 178, letter of Henry Skipwith, 2 October 1611.

6 Ibid., vol. 619, f.138, 2 December 1610.

Many Englishmen came to deal with the pirates under the guise of fishing, trading or even 'under the colour of planting.'[1] Some settled permanently in Ireland in order to continue their illicit trade with greater ease.[2] Others came simply to join a pirate crew and to cash in on the new-found prosperity. These dealings of the English, whatever their nature, were always well disguised, for once again it was made to appear that the pirates were in complete control of events:

> ... both to keep the men from impunitye whoe seeme to be forced to that course of life, and themselves likewise whoe complayne of the losse of their voyage when they have best made it.[3]

The numbers trafficking with the pirates in no way eased detection, so that in 1612 Chichester was forced to admit that 'this pest is grown so strong and so general as we are no more able to struggle with it.'[4]

The opportunities for the pirates to 'take purchase' in the Ocean were considerable. Ships returning to northern Europe from Spain and the south-west of France carried cargoes of Gascony and Malaga wines, salt, fruit and other Mediterranean produce; while rovers who intercepted these traders were often lucky enough to find large sums of money which merchants had made by the sale of cloth, corn and other northern commodities. On 10 May 1609, James Harris took the Mary of St. Malo off Ushant, laden with thirty-six butts of Spanish wine and 200 Spanish

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1 Analecta Hibernica, p.62, lord deputy to Lords of Council, 31 October 1612; Lambeth Palace, S.P. Carew, vol. 619, f.141; C.S.P. Ir. 1608-10, p.278, Moryson to Salisbury, 22 August 1609.

2 The Privy Council declared that the coasts were inhabited 'either by natives, who from motives of interest or of fear, are ready to supply their necessities, or by persons of our own nation who have taken places there with the express purpose of commercing with the pirates with more convenience and security.' (C.S.P. Ir. 1611-14, pp. 301-2). Many English were living at Baltimore, Bantry, Leamcon and Berehaven (B.M. Cott. MS. Otho E VIII, f. 379).

3 Lambeth Palace, S.P. Carew, vol. 619, f. 141.

4 Analecta Hibernica, p.62, lord deputy to Lords of Council, 31 October 1612.

doubloons.[1] Exactly a week later Harris pirated the Margaret of Morbihan off Cape Finisterre as she was returning to France from Lisbon with Spanish coin and gold worth £2,400.[2] Pirates such as Harris, who worked the French and Spanish coasts, could also take smaller prizes engaged in local trade.

One of the most lucrative sources of pirate income was the Iberian trade to the New World and in particular the rich Brazilmen returning to Europe along the Moroccan coasts laden with sugar, Brazil wood, hides and tobacco. Christopher Webb, operating from a base on the Atlantic coast of Barbary in the Patience of Bristol, which he had renamed the Blue Man of War, took two such prizes in August and September 1610, worth together over £2,000.[3] Sometimes New World cargoes were even richer than this. In 1614, Guilliam de Gilliansе St. Andrew and some English pirates took a Portuguese carvel west of the Azores. Their prize was carrying 450 sugar chests and 200 Indian hides and was valued at £6,000.[4]

The plate fleets and other Spanish convoys returning from America were too strong for the pirates to attempt to capture. However, the English corsairs occasionally gave the king of Spain some cause for concern. In 1608 the news broke in Spain that the pirates had taken the ship which was heralding the approach of the West Indies fleet, and had also slain the general of some Spanish ships which had been sent out against them. Fear for the fleet was so great in Spain that Don Luis Fajardo, the captain-general of the navy, was sent out to convoy the ships safely home.[5]

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1 H.C.A. 1/6/8. The loot was valued at £570.

2 H.C.A. 1/6/7.

3 H.C.A. 1/6/72, 90.

4 H.C.A. 1/6/140.

5 B.M. Stowe MS 170, f. 165, Charles Cornwallis to Sir Thomas Edmonds, 17 September 1608.

The pirates' activity in the Ocean seriously disrupted the trade between Europe and the Spanish islands off the African coast, which was mainly centred on the wines of Madeira and the Canaries. William de la Mott, a Frenchman who lived in London and who commanded an English ship, was roving near Tenerife in the last days of 1607 in his ship the Archangel, when he seized a Portuguese ship and a Spanish frigate which were both laden with wines.[1] The following year, Thomas Sockwell made prize of a Portuguese carvel at Madeira with a cargo of calico, silk, green ginger and wax worth £1,000.[2] Peter Easton was even strong enough to attack five or six English and Dutch vessels in the road at Lanzerote, sinking one and capturing two others which were laden with corn.[3]

Merchants trading with Guinea also suffered at the hands of the pirates. On 22 September 1608, Captain Tibalt Saxbridge, in command of two pirate vessels, took the Brave of Dieppe off Ushant as she was returning from Senegal with a cargo of hides, gum and ivory valued at £2,400.[4] In January 1612, Easton was at Senegal (Cinego) with a squadron of six ships, and he had evidently had some success, for he was able to barter 800 Guinea hides with the captain of the Phoenix of London in return for some wheat and five small-cannons called falcons.[5]

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1 H.C.A. 1/5/218-9. La Mott had a French commission to go on a trading voyage to Cape Bonesperanza (the Cape of Good Hope?). The voyage was financed by Robert Howel of London and the ship was victualled and fitted out in London. La Mott gathered his crew at London, Salcombe and Plymouth (H.C.A. 13/97/99, 135: 22 December1607, 23 March 1608). He also had another ship and a pinnace under his command (S.P. 89/3/96, Lee to Wilson, 13 November 1607).

2 H.C.A. 1/6/13.

3 H.C.A. 13/98/59: 14 June 1613.

4 H.C.A. 1/6/15; 13/97/235: 31 October 1608.

5 H.C.A. 13/98/15: 12 January 1613.

The rich prizes of the east, which fell to English pirates in the Mediterranean, eluded those who operated outside the Straits of Gibraltar. The strongly-armed East Indiamen defied capture, while the ships of the Levant companies returning to northern Europe with their rich merchandise were also too strong to fall pray to pirates. The more vulnerable Venetian vessels, which had once plied the Atlantic with cargoes of spices, indigo, cochineal and fine fabrics, had been forced out of the trade by the northerners. By the seventeenth century, Venetian ships were confined to the Mediterranean, where they proved easy game for English adventurers based at Tunis and Algiers.[1] However the Atlantic pirates occasionally captured vessels engaged in distributing eastern commodities around Europe. In October 1607, William de la Mott plundered a French vessel off the coast of Spain which had a cargo of cochineal, indigo and linen worth £1,000,[2] and the following year Sockwell and his crew captured the St. Jacob of Hamburg as she was returning home from Spain with a load of indigo and Spanish money valued at £500.[3]

The fisheries of Newfoundland and Canada provided rich pickings for the pirates. In February each year, English, Biscaynan, French and Portuguese fishermen set out for the Newfoundland Banks to fish for cod, returning in the summer to France, Spain and Italy to sell their catch. By 1615 the fisheries had become big business. In A Discourse and Discovery of Newfoundland, published in 1622, Richard Whitbourne estimated that in 1615 there were 250 English and 400 French and Spanish boats fishing on the Banks. Since the average fishing boat was of about sixty tons and was crewed by twenty men and boys, this meant that in one year, England alone sent 15,000 tons of shipping to

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1 Supra, pp. 44-5.

2 H.C.A. 1/5/217.

3 H.C.A. 1/5/220.

Newfoundland manned by 5,000 fishermen. Whitbourne calculated the total value of the catch to England in 1615 to be £120,000, while train-oil, which was extracted from the fish, was worth a further £15,000.[1]

Some captures were made as the fishermen were nearing their European markets. For example, on 1 August 1618, a French fishing boat and its catch valued at £200, was pirated by John Ellis off Cape Clear.[2] Most fishermen, however, were robbed when they were on the Newfoundland coast or on the Banks themselves and hence more easy to find. In 1612 Peter Easton was in Newfoundland with ten good ships, robbing the fishing boats at his leisure, and two years later

Henry Mainwaring was there at the head of five ships. However, since fish was a bulky commodity and was only marketable in Europe, the pirates were more interested in it as a means of supplementing their own diet than as a source of profit. Their main reason for visiting Newfoundland was to reinforce their crews with able and sturdy seamen out of the fishing boats, and to equip their men-of-war with the best arms, furniture, tackle, victuals and drink that the fishermen could provide.[3] Thus the Newfoundland Banks served the pirates as a place to strengthen their ships and crews, and to refresh themselves, rather than as an area of profitable plunder.

The traffic of the Atlantic Ocean grew rapidly at the start of the seventeenth century, with the increasing exploitation of the New World and the development of new trading areas such as Newfoundland and the East Indies. There was an even greater incentive to traders after Spain ceased to be at war with England and Holland. Under peacetime conditions,

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1 Richard Whitbourne, A Discourse and Discovery of Newfoundland, 1622, pp. 11-12, 21. An even greater percentage of the maritime population was engaged in the fisheries when the ship-builders and suppliers in England are taken into account (ibid., pp. 14-15).

2 H.C.A. 1/7/8.

3 Whitbourne, op. cit., pp. C2-3; H.C.A. 13/98/6: 10 December 1612.

the trade of small northern merchants was resurrected. Englishmen and Dutchmen were once again allowed to trade with Spain, and there was more encouragement for them to trade inside the Mediterranean when Spain was a friendly power.[1]

Thus pirates were faced with the desirable situation in which there was an increase in the number of merchant vessels upon which they could prey, and a decrease in the competition and dangers which they would encounter from privateers and men-of-war. The English pirates were also fortunate because, unlike Elizabeth's privateers, they had no need to confine their operations to the Spanish coast, but could make war on all nations anywhere in the Ocean if they so chose.[2]

If the pirates had been forced to range the Ocean in search of plunder, their chances of success would have been small indeed. In fact they were professional seamen and managed to minimise the inconvenience of the chase by concentrating their efforts on the most advantageous areas. Pirates had a predilection for westerly headlands which cut across north-south trading routes, because the prevailing south-westerly winds brought merchant-men, who were bound to double the capes, right into their hands. Cape Clear in Ireland, the Scilly Isles, Ushant, Cape Finisterre and Cape St. Vincent all provided ideal hunting-grounds for traffic passing between the Mediterranean and northern Europe. There was also the added advantage for pirates operating in northern waters that ships bound for England, Holland, Scandinavia or the Hanseatic Ports, had to converge on the western approaches to the English Channel.

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1 The renewal of trade with Spain was probably not to England's immediate advantage. Privateering had brought at least as much profit to Englishmen as had trade to the Iberian pininsular (Andrews, Elizabethan Privateering, p.128), and trading conditions after the war were unfavourable to English merchants (infra, p.329). However, the point here is that there was an increase in the volume of trade to Spain, with increased opportunities for piracy.

2 For example, a proclamation of 1586 directed English privateers to sail direct to the Spanish coast and to confine their spoils to Spanish and Portuguese vessels on pain of suffering as pirates (Steele, Tudor and Stuart Proclamations, I, no.784).

Apart from intercepting European trade, the pirates who hovered around the most westerly headlands of Europe were likely to encounter Spanish and Portuguese vessels returning from the New World and running for port with their rich cargoes. Working within a framework which gave rise to many possibilities and variations, the pirates were extremely flexible in their mode of operation. For example, the position taken up by a pirate captain who was waiting for a prize on the Spanish coast, would depend on the time of year, the direction of the wind and the forces at his disposal.[1] The Canary Islands, Madeira and even the Azores were popular alternatives for the rovers. Apart from the trade they had with Europe, these Spanish islands were used as landmarks or staging-posts by rich Spanish vessels returning from the New World, and many captures were made in the locality.

The most obvious example of a concentration of trading routes was the Straits of Gibraltar, which was a bottleneck through which all ships had to pass, and many prizes were taken in the vicinity. However, risks were commensurate with the chances of success, and the hunter could easily become the hunted. Many merchantmen went well-armed into the Mediterranean, and a pirate who chose to hover around the mouth of the Straits was himself fair game for Spanish and Dutch men-of-war, or any other forces which might be sent out against him. The risk of capture was especially high between May and August when the weather was good and Spanish and Dutch patrols were on the alert for marauders.[2] In 1609, Captain Boniton, a Cornishman and 'one of the Ireland Pirates, whose purpose was to goe unto the Straits to learn newes',[3] was engaged in battle off Cape St. Mary by de Beaulieu-Persac, who had sailed from Le Havre in April in a French galleon, with a commission

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1 Mainwaring, Life and Works, II. 31-2.

2 Ibid., II. 33.

3 Barker, A True and Certaine Report, p. 26.

from Henry IV to take pirates. After a gallant defence, Boniton was forced to surrender, and was taken to Marseilles and executed.[1] Don Luis Fajardo, captain-general of the Spanish Atlantic squadrons, was almost fanatical in his hatred of all Englishmen as 'enemies of Christ'. If he caught any pirates they received short shrift. In 1605 he captured an English pirate who was bound for Barbary to sell Spanish slaves to the Moors and took the offender into Lisbon, where he was to be executed.[2]

The English pirates who infested the Atlantic were more than sea-borne robbers who hovered off the European littoral waiting for prizes to come their way. Many of the pirate crews were composed of skilful and courageous seamen, whose personal domain was as broad as the Ocean itself. In 1612 Peter Easton was marauding as far west as Newfoundland and as far south as the Guinea coast,[3] and such voyages were not exceptional. During James' reign, the Newfoundland fisheries were visited by pirates year after year.[4] However, trans-Atlantic expeditions were only undertaken by pirates with strong ships which were well provided for. These long voyages were not popular with the crews, because unless they left Newfoundland by mid-June, they were likely to encounter contrary winds, and to die of starvation on the return journey.[5]

Some of the rovers operated as far north as Iceland, which they used as a place to fit and victual their ships. Iceland was, however,

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1 Dan, Histoire de Barbarie et de ses Corsaires, pp. 191-2; de la Roncière, Histoire de la Marine Français, IV. 372-3.

2 B.M. Harl. MS. 1875, ff. 427-8, Williams to Salisbury, 3 June 1605.

3 H.C.A. 13/98/6, 15: 10 December 1612, 12 January 1613.

4 Infra, p. 159.

5 Mainwaring, op. cit., II. 37.

inconvenient, for it was too far removed from the Spanish coast, the main centre of operations, so that pirates making for Spain were forced to make a landfall in Ireland.[1] Nevertheless, the Island of Vestmannaeyjar in Iceland was the scene of a remarkable outrage perpetrated by William Clark and James Gentleman and their pirate band in the summer of 1614. The pirates determined to take revenge on the islanders, who had maltreated some of Gentlemen's men who had gone ashore there the previous year.[2] The marauders seized two Danish vessels in the roadstead at Vestmannaeyjar, and then took over the island for two weeks, desecrating the churches, robbing the islanders of all their possessions, raping the women and plundering a storehouse belonging to the king of Denmark.[3]

The incident in Iceland was exceptional, for pirate captains usually confined their operations to the main areas of European trade. Likewise, Scotland was only occasionally visited by pirates. If a captain wanted to try his luck on the Scottish coast, it was necessary to procure a pilot who knew the waters well enough, and this was an added hindrance.[4] It is only during 1610 that pirates appear to have caused any real trouble in Scotland. Eight members of the crews of Captain Coward and Captain Barrat were driven ashore by the weather on the Isle of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides and taken prisoner. They had spoiled shipping in the Azores before they were taken, and had some booty on board which they had pirated from some rich vessels off the coast of France.[5]

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1 Ibid., II. 39.

2 H.C.A. 13/98/222: 13 September 1614.

3 H.C.A. 13/98/215-17: 24 August 1614.

4 Mainwaring, op. cit., II. 38.

5 Robert Pitcairn, Criminal Trials in Scotland, from 1488 to 1624, 3 vols., Edinburgh, 1833, III. 100-1, They had taken six ships of England, France, Holland and Dunkirk, besides two fishing boats. One French ship had £200 in coin and a cargo of 700 Indian hides, while a Dutch prize contained 100 chests of sugar, silver plate, jewels and pieces of eight.

In the same year, Captain William Randel and Captain John Perkins, together with twenty-eight of their crew, were captured and tried at Edinburgh. These pirates had had a hand in spoiling many vessels in the Ocean as far south as the Azores, including the St. John of Middleburg, which was taken off Cape Finisterre as she was bound for Leghorn. They had pillaged vessels in the Shetlands and Orkneys, and had even taken prizes on the Norwegian coast.[1] All of the pirates who were made prisoner in 1610 were English. They were tried and sentenced to be hanged at Leith.[2]

Evidently the Scottish Lords were unprepared to deal with this influx of pirates. A 'speciallie constitute' court comprising the vice-admiral of Scotland and some of the Lords of the Scottish Privy Council was set up in July 1610 to try Randel and Perkins and their followers.[3] Although the Privy Councellors were sympathetic to the problems which English pirates were causing James, it seems that their knowledge of piracy stemmed from reports rather than from practical experience.[4] Their prompt action may have played a part in deterring pirates from visiting the Scottish coast. As soon as the Lords heard of the presence of Randel and Perkins in the Orkneys, they sent out the three best vessels in Leith, since the king's ship, which was expected, had not yet arrived. The Scottish ships succeeded in capturing the pirates' 200-ton man-of-war after a fierce battle in the Orkneys.[5]

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1 Ibid., III. 102-6.

2 Ibid., III. 101, 107.

3 Ibid., III. 102.

4 Ibid., III. 109. On 7 July 1610, the Privy Council of Scotland wrote to James: 'And since none of us ar ignorant, that by resoune of advertisements, not onlie frome all the corneris of your Majesties awin dominionis, but alsna from foreyne pairtis, your Majesty has newer almost ony intermissioun or respitt'.

5 Ibid., III. 108. The Scots lost two men in the fight and the pirates' pinnace escaped.

In 1614 Sir William Monson sailed to Scotland with four ships, with a commission to suppress piracy. However, reports of twenty pirate vessels on the Scottish coast proved exaggerated, for Monson could only hear of two.[1] He evidently considered the task of chasing 'a few petty pirates' below his rank and dignity.[2]

Monson's description, although inappropriate for the pirates for whom he was searching, (they were the ones who plundered the island of Vestmannaeyjar in Iceland),[3] was apt enough for piracy in Scotland during James' reign. In 1605, Francis Earl and several other men had pirated the Falcon of Embden at Harwich and had carried her to Preston Pans in Scotland, where the pirates and their booty were seized by the earl of Newbottle, who took the opportunity to mulct them of all they had before releasing them.[4] Two English pirates were executed in Scotland in 1613, and several more were imprisoned at Edinburgh two years later, but like Earl, these men were small fry who had never operated in the Ocean.[5]

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1 'The Naval Tracts of Sir William Monson', ed. M. Oppenheim, 5 vols., N.R.S., 1902-14, III. 56-7.

2 Ibid., III. 58.

3 Monson sailed on 14 May 1614 - before the pirates had sacked the island. Clark, the pirate captain, had once served as bosun's mate under Monson in the Channel Squadron (ibid., III. 56-7).

4 H.C.A. 1/46/180: 19 April 1605.

5 Pitcairn, op. cit., III. 109, 244. In 1624, the skipper and owners of a merchant vessel were convicted of piracy for the murder of some merchants who had freighted their ship. In reality, this was only a technical case of piracy (ibid., III. 569-72).

The daring and scope of the operations of English pirates in the Atlantic is epitomised by the adventures of Captain Tibalt Saxbridge and of his crew in 1608-9. In 1608, Saxbridge was at Mogador, on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, in a small ship of a French build. Sailing to the Azores and the Spanish coast, he took a 120-ton flyboat, laden with salt, which he converted to use as his man-of-war.[1] Calling at Cawsand Bay, Torbay and Baltimore to supplement his crew, he left Britain late in 1608. Cruising along the French and Spanish coasts, Saxbridge and his men finally returned to Mogador. After refreshing themselves, they sailed to the Azores and then on to the West Indies, where many of the crew were starving and some at last were suffering from scurvy.[2] The pirates also suffered at the hands of the Spanish, for eight of them were lost when Saxbridge tried to send a landing-party ashore. In desperation, they sailed to Newfoundland, where they hoped their luck would change. They badly needed to take a prize if only for the victuals it would provide. One night, Saxbridge led an attack on a French ship which was in harbour at Newfoundland. He manned three shallops with ten men in each, but the boarding-party was repulsed by the French crew, and Saxbridge himself was slain in the fight. The top and main masts on the pirate ship were broken, and it was too leaky for the journey to England. Those of the crew who remained alive managed to get passage home in English vessels, but some of the pirates were evidently not yet disillusioned with piracy, despite the hardships which they had

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1 H.C.A. 1/47/132: 9 June 1610.

2 H.C.A. 1/47/132, 134: 7, 9 June 1610. John Elliot, one of the crew, was 'verey sicke of the skurvy which he had gott at the Westerne Islandes'.

endured. On the 8 October, they left the ship in which they were returning at Conquet, in Brittany, seized the Son of Flushing, a pink laden with Gascony wine,[1] and sailed off in her under the captaincy of Philip Harvy. They went as far south as the Cape Verde Islands, 'where theye grewe in miserie',[2] and they were eventually forced to sail to Ireland and surrender on the best terms they could obtain.[3]

The southern bases for English pirates operating in the Ocean were on the Atlantic coast of North Africa. Here the pirates lived under the aegis of the king of Morocco. Their main retreat was Mamora, a remote town north of Sally at the mouth of the West Sebou River,[4] although they alsofrequented other ports on that coast - notably Safi, Fedala and Santa Cruz. The most striking characteristic of Mamora as a pirate port was the independence which the Atlantic pirates enjoyed from the Moors, as compared with the conditions of service under the Turks at Algiers and Tunis. The English and Dutch seamen who sailed from Morocco in search of plunder went forth in their own ships as their own masters. They were able to replenish their crews, either from the English and Dutch malcontents who were drawn to Mamora, or from the men they captured at sea, so that they had no need to take Moors into their service. The pirates enjoyed freedom of trade without paying any dues, and they were able to set up market on their ships in the harbour, to sell their loot to Christian traders and purchase necessities without hindrance. In 1610, an Englishman named Powell evidently experienced no difficulty in trading with the pirates at Mamora, for they lent him the Angola Man, a large vessel which they had captured on her way to Angola,

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1 H.C.A. 1/6/31. The ship and wines were worth £670.

2 H.C.A. 1/47/134: 7 June 1610.

3 The details of Saxbridge's voyage are to be found at H.C.A. 1/47/117-22: 4, 7, 14 May 1610.

4 De Castries, Sources inédites, Archives d'Angleterre, II. 438, n.2.

> ... and that shipp the said Powell used as his storehouse or shop for sale of his said apparell and goodes ...[1]

The king of Morocco was not entirely apathetic towards the robbers who frequented his coast. He tolerated them because their depredations were directed against Christian countries, and especially Spain, who was Morocco's closest neighbour and bitterest enemy. Thus the pirates could even hope for favours at the hands of the king. When some of their ships were chased into Safi in 1607 by Dutch warships, Mouley Zidan, the king of Morocco, enraged by the insult to his suzerainty allowed the pirates to go scot-free and imprisoned Pieter Maertensz Coy, the Dutch agent at Marrakesh by way of retaliation.[2]

Atlantic piracy reached its peak between about 1608 and 1614. After he left Tunis in 1608, Richard Bishop soon established himself as the pirates' 'admiral'. In July he and his leading captains - Jennings, Roope, Boniton, Easton and Saxbridge, were at Baltimore and Castle Haven in Ireland with their ships and prizes. Bishop's vessel was laden with salt and cork, and he and Jennings were in possession of a Hamburg prize with a cargo of rice, together with a Spanish West Indiaman whose lading of ginger and silver they had already disposed of in Barbary. Easton had the loot from another West Indiaman which he had captured as she was outward-bound, while Boniton's ship was full of sugar.[3]

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1 H.C.A. 1/47/238: 16 October 1611.

2 The English pirate ship, with French and Dutch prizes, was forced to seek shelter under the casbar, where the pirates received support from the locals. The Dutch eventually succeeded in running the pirate ship aground, but when they pursued the pirates on shore they were arrested. Perhaps the king of Morocco was particularly sympathetic in this case because the pirates had sold corn to his subjects from their prizes at Safi, and had agreed to transport some of his men to Larache. (Henry de Castries, Les Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc de 1530 à 1845. Archives et bibliothèques des Pays-Bas, 6 vols., Paris 1906-23, I, 227-8, 3 August 1607.) Other English pirates were not so fortunate, especially since their vessels presented the Moroccan chieftains with a good source of ordnance. For example in 1607 Captain Warry's ship, mounting thirty-two guns was captured at Larache (ibid., I. 216-7 and n. 5).

3 H.C.A. 13/97/209: 22 September 1608.

The following summer the pirates returned to Ireland and put in at Leamcon. The fleet was of unprecedented strength. One report said that Bishop had eleven ships and a thousand men under his command.[1] Richard Kerry, a servant of the vice-admiral of Munster, travelled to Leamcon and was able to give a more accurate account of the fleet to the admiralty. There were, he said, nine vessels, two of them of more than 200 tons, altogether manned by over 400 men and mounting more than 100 pieces of ordnance. It was certainly a formidable force:[2]

Captain	Ship	Crew	Ordnance
Admiral Richard Bishop	240 tons	120	27
Vice-admiral Peter Easton	140 " (French)	50	35
Rear-admiral Thomas Francke	200 " (flyboat)	90	16
Robert Stephenson	? (French)	27	7
Harvy	? (Dutch)	30	9-10
Sammes	80 tons (Biscayner)	35	?
Parker	? (Dutch)	35	3
Peter (Dutch)	30 tons (French bark)	27	none
Harvel	100 " (Dutch)	30-40	16

1 C.S.P. Ir. 1608-10, p.277, Moryson to Salisbury, 22 August 1609.

2 H.C.A. 1/47/78: 27 January 1610. In addition, Bishop had a French bark and a Dutch prize with a cargo of hides which he eventually released, while Parker's ship was full of sugar. The pirate captains and the most prominent men in their crews are mentioned in 'A note of the Pirates', signed by Richard Kerry. He names the same captains, except that Captain Finge (Finch?) and his crew of 'landishe men' have been substituted for Captain Sammes (H.C.A. 1/47/105).

Despite his powerful position, Bishop was tiring of piracy. Early in June 1610 representations for a pardon had been made on his behalf to the lord deputy. Chichester reported that Bishop was an able and trustworthy man who was thoroughly sick of his course of life, and who had even volunteered to undertake some service against his former shipmates.[1] Bishop sailed to Ireland from Mamora to seek his pardon, but in April 1611 his ship was seized near Baltimore by two Dutch warships, in contravention of a protection which Chichester had granted him.[2] However, Bishop eventually received fair treatment from the authorities and settled at Schull.[3]

The leadership of the pirate fleet was taken over by Peter Easton, who was less considerate to English shipping than Bishop, and under whom piracy continued to flourish and to cause the English government increasing concern. Easton was active in the winter of 1610-1611. He had several successes off the north cape of Spain in his flyboat the Fortune, 160 tons, 22 guns, in company with Captains Roope, Harvy and Willoughby. On 8 September he took victuals and drink from the Greyhound of London, bound for the Canaries, and robbed her of her victuals, tackle and cargo of wine on her return journey in November.[4] On 20 October Easton plundered the St. Nicholas of London, bound for Zante with salmon,[5] and in the same month he intercepted the William and John

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1 Lambeth Palace, S.P. Carew, vol. 619, f. 135, lord deputy to lord admiral, 4 June 1610.

2 H.C.A. 1/47/198, 246: 11 June, 2 November 1611; C.S.P. Ir. 1611-14, p.90, Skipwyth to lord deputy, 25 July 1611.

3 Analecta Hibernica, p.35, lord deputy to Lords of Council, 25 July 1612. In 1614 Bishop gave evidence in the admiralty court on behalf of a man he had forced into piracy He is described as a gentleman of Schull (H.C.A. 13/98/213: 20 August 1614).

4 H.C.A. 1/47/157-8: 15 December 1610.

5 H.C.A. 1/47/171, 201: 12 March, 19 June 1611.

of Weymouth - Melcombe Regis, as she was travelling to Galway from Spain. He kept this ship for seven weeks, during which time the pirates consumed her cargo of wine. Easton only released her when he took a Biscayner which he converted to a man-of-war in Barbary and placed under Roope's captaincy.[1] In the last months of 1610, Easton presented a serious threat to English as well as to foreign shipping. When he rifled the Gift of God, and mistreated the English sailors on board, he ordered her master Thomas Hunt:

> ... to tell the merchants on the exchange that he would be a scourge to Englishemen, sayeng he had no Englishe blood in his belly and therefore esteemed Englishe men no other then as Turckes and Jewes.[2]

After selling his booty in Barbary, Easton refitted his ships and sailed to the Azores, the Canaries and the Cape Verde Islands in search of further prizes. He spoiled several English, French and Dutch vessels of their victuals, drink and tackle, and took able men out of their companies for his service, before he eventually released the ships.[3] In March 1611 he captured the White Swan of Rotterdam after a battle in which her master and carpenter were killed. She was returning from Tenerife with a cargo of forty butts of Canary wines, sixty-two chests of sugar, twelve hogsheads of syrup, ten barrels of preserves and four packs of Spanish wool. Easton took her to Ireland where he made her his man-of-war in place of the Fortune.[4]

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1 H.C.A. 1/47/187-8, 201: 7 May, 19 June 1611.

2 H.C.A. 13/41/59: 24 July 1610. Easton does not seem to have made any secret of his intention to plunder British ships at this time. See also H.C.A. 1/47/188: 7 May 1611.

3 He took victuals from a ship of Bristol, besides some sails and twenty-two bales of linen cloth out of a French ship at the Azores. At Cape Verde he took more sails and rigging from a French vessel and near the Canaries he seized on menand victuals from another Bristol ship. He also intercepted French and English fishing vessels returning from Newfoundland, being particularly severe on the French (H.C.A. 1/47/202: 19 June 1611).

4 H.C.A. 1/47/202, 265: 19 June 1611, 28 February 1612.

After Bishop's ship had been taken in Ireland by the Dutch warships, Easton determined to seek revenge. He sailed to the English coast in search of the Dutch, but he over-reached himself and his six ships were caught within the Sleeve by contrary winds. He therefore augmented his forces on 26 June 1611 by commandeering the Concord of London, 240 tons, and the Philip Bonaventure of Dover - two rich merchantmen which he encountered sixteen leagues south of the Scilly Isles. Easton claimed that he only intended to keep these ships until he had extricated himself from his difficult position, but that an attempt by the merchants to murder himself and Captain Hughs had made him decide to keep the two merchantmen. Whether or not this story was true, the Concord was certainly a fine prize, 'being a tall shippe, and verie well fitted with ordinaunce and munition.' After keeping the Philip Bonaventure for about a week, Easton loaded her cargo into the Concord, which he made his new man-of-war, and told the merchants that their property would be restored if he were pardoned. He then returned to Ireland after joining forces with Captain Stephenson, Captain Francke and Captain Gay off Ushant.[1] By August Easton's fleet was back in Ireland where it was reported to number seventeen ships.[2]

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1 C.S.P. Ir. 1611-14, p.90, Skipwyth to lord deputy, 25 July 1611; S.P. 14/65/16, Sir Ferdinando Gorges to Salisbury, 5 July 1611; H.C.A. 13/98/58: 14 June 1613. Easton was in a ship of 200-tons and 24 guns when he captured the Concord. The captains of the other pirate ships which were with him were William Hughs, 160 tons, 16 guns; William Baugh, 160 tons, 18 guns; William Willmott or Wolmer, 160 tons, 18 guns; William Harvy, sixty-ton pink, 8 guns, and Gilbert Roope, ship unknown. Stephenson was in a 300-ton vessel mounting 24 guns and Francke and Gay in 200-tonners (S.P. 14/65/16). On 6 July Easton, in the Concord, with these eight ships; waylaid the Hercules of London between Lands End and the Lizard and stripped her of all her weapons and ammunition (H.C.A. 1/47/217-8: 22 July 1611).

2 C.S.P. Ven. 1610-13, p. 195, Foscarini to Doge and Senate, 11 August 1611.

Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who had taken examinations relating to the capture of the Concord, did not attempt to conceal the seriousness of the situation when he wrote to Salisbury on the 5 July 1611. He put the total force of the Atlantic pirates at forty ships and 2,000 men, all English, and said:

> These men thus furnished threaten the world and gives yt out they expect to be Called in verie shortlie by his Majestie's pardon for 40,000 pownds, of whome not withstanding, they speake verie aprobriouslie, but withall they say yf they bee not, they will take and spoyle all they meete with.[1]

Not surprisingly, in view of their great strength, the Council was anxious to pardon Easton and his band. On 13 June the Lords sanctioned a forty-day protection which Chichester had previously offered to Easton, and Chichester extended this for a further forty-days,[2] but the fleet sailed on 8 August - before the pardon arrived. It was said that the danger from the Dutch navy and the fear of betrayal by the government had forced them to leave. However, they had received the offer of a pardon from the duke of Tuscany, and even Bishop's endeavours to get the pirates to wait for their English pardon were to no avail.[3]

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1 S.P. 14/65/16.

2 C.S.P. Ir. 1611-14, p.86, Chichester to Council, 27 July 1611.

3 The pirates had protections for themselves and their ships and goods from the duke, who had also promised to accept them as 'his subjects and servants'. When the fleet put to sea, the pirates knew that an English pardon was certain to be granted, but Humphrey Curson, the purser of a ship sent to negotiate with the pirates, was evidently able to panic them by suggesting that the pardon was merely a trick to delay them until the navy was ready to deal with them. (C.S.P. Ir. 1611-14, pp. 89, 90, 93, 99)

The capture of the Concord gave rise to some disagreement in the pirate fleet. Sailing south, the captains divided into three groups. Only Hughs and Harvy went with Easton, while Stephenson, Francke and Smith, and Baugh, Arthur and Gay formed the other two groups. The combined force was certainly formidable:

> ... in all, about 500 men, with 250 pieces of ordnance, good store of powder, shot, and well provided of victuals by land pirates ...[1]

The failure to capture or pardon Easton in the summer of 1611 led to a string of depredations in the following eighteen months, which more than bore out the menace of the previous winter. In August 1611 Easton arrived at Santa Cruz, where Harvy, acting on his instructions, captured the Valentia, a Dutch warship manned by an English crew.[2] After selling some cloth from the Concord's cargo at Mesa for 2,000 ducats, Easton sailed to the Canaries, where he forced the entire crew of a London vessel into his service. He then attacked five or six English and Dutch ships in the road at Lanzerote, sinking one Dutchman and capturing some of the other ships with cargoes of corn. After this, Easton captured a small French man-of-war and even engaged a great French warship, but was unable to take her.[3]

After trimming his ships on the Moroccan coast, Easton sailed south to Cape Blanc, where he took the victuals from several fishing vessels and six guns from a Portuguese castle on the coast, which had been abandoned by its defenders. Early in 1612 Harvy seized fifteen men and some victuals out of the Daisy of Sandwich as she was bound for the West Indies off Cape Blanc and also made prize of the Jacob of

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1 Ibid., p. 99, Myddleton to Salisbury, 23 August 1611.

2 H.C.A. 13/98/13: 19 December 1612.

3 H.C.A. 13/98/59: 14 June 1613.

Amsterdam with a rich cargo of hides and ivory. The Jacob was converted to a man-of-war at the Cape, and was given to Roope. Sailing down the Guinea coast, Easton captured the Phoenix of London, the Love of London and the Willing Maid of Fowey. The pirate fleet then sailed to the Cape Verde Islands, but they had no further success and after refreshing themselves they crossed the Ocean in April 1612, to prey on the Newfoundland fishermen.[1]

The disruption which the pirates had caused in the trade to the Atlantic islands and Guinea was repeated on an even larger scale in Newfoundland, where they took one fifth of the provisions and every fifth man from the fishing boats.[2] After victualling at the Isle of May, the shortage of men and the extremities of the voyage forced Easton to burn the Valentia and the Swan. However, entering Harbour Grace he found three Biscayners whose crews fled at the pirates' approach. Easton built a fort and equipped it with sixteen guns, in order to trim his ships and convert two of the Biscayners into men-of-war.[3]

The pirates were soon able to recover from the hardships of the ocean crossing. Although they had arrived with only four ships, in a short time they increased this number to nine, and further strengthened their forces by recruiting 500 British fisherman, some of whom were only too willing to join them. The total value of the ordnance, ammunition and victuals which Easton commandeered from the British in Newfoundland was put at £10,400. Damage caused to twenty-five French fishing vessels was estimated as £6,000 and the losses suffered by the Portuguese at £3,000, while the pirates also captured a great Dutch ship valued at £1,000. Thus, the chronicler of this devastation concludes 'that'the total dmage done to all nations by the great Eason

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1 H.C.A. 13/98/59-60: 14 June 1613.

2 C.S.P. Ven. 1610-13, p.434, Foscarini to Doge and Senate, 15 October 1612.

3 H.C.A. 13/98/60: 14 June 1613.

and his complices in and about Newfoundland - £20,400.'[1]

Late in 1612 Easton returned to Morocco, having despatched Roope to Ireland to seek his English pardon.[2] However, this pardon was out of date and a new one was not granted until the end of November, by which time Roope was unable to contact Easton. The latter stayed at

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1 D.W. Prowse, A History of Newfoundland from the English, Colonial and Foreign Records, 1896, p.102. The British Newfoundland traders claimed losses of £20,400 (A.P.C. 1613-14, p.146). Easton was accompanied to Newfoundland by Roope, Heath, Harvy, Holcomb and the Willmott brothers. An account of some of their piracies can be found at H.C.A. 13/98/6: 10 December 1612. The fishermen and planters may not have exaggerated the damage. For example,

> the Margaret of Washford, which was taken at Bonavista by the pirates, was set out by Barnstaple merchants at a cost of £1,500. She was only three years old and had made two previous voyages. The fish, which were being loaded when she was taken, were valued at £2,000, and the merchants could have hoped to make a further £600 profit when their cargo was sold in Spain. (H.C.A. 13/98/11-12: 12 December 1612.)

2 Roope came into Kinsale in the Katherine of Olone, a French fishing bark of fifty tons, taken on the Banks in May (A.P.C. 1613-14, p.130). On 31 October 1612, Chichester informed the Council that Roope had delievered Easton's letters and that an up-to-date pardon had been sent to Easton (Analecta Hibernica, pp.62-3). The pardon for Easton and Roope was not finally granted until 27 November 1612 (C.S.P. Dom. - 1611-18, p.158). Reports of Easton's presence at the Island of Valentia in September were almost certainly false, and may have been inspired by Roope's arrival (C.S.P. Ir. 1611-14, p. 287, Council to Chichester, 27 September 1612; Analecta Hibernica, p.43, lord deputy to Lords of Council, 13 September 1612).

Fedala for three months, selling the remainder of the cloth from the Concord, but growing tired of waiting for a reprieve, he finally decided to seek asylum in Italy. On his way he spoiled a Hamburg vessel of her lading of cotton-wool, and then near Majorca he made prize of the Hope of Amsterdam, laden with muscatel, and the Thomasin of London, with a cargo of currants.[1] Easton, still in the Concord, and Captain Heath, in the Jacob, carried these two prizes with them to Savoy. On 20 February 1613 Easton entered Villefranche at the head of four ships containing fabulous riches. He was said to have had as many as 900 men with him, and eight other pirate vessels which had remained outside the Straits were later reported to have joined him under the protection of the duke of Savoy.[2]

The depredations in the Atlantic in 1611 and 1612 were even greater than Easton's operations suggest. Many of the captains of the fleet had left him in August 1611, and had sailed to Mamora, where they were followed later that year by Roger Middleton, who had been commissioned by the government and the merchants to carry the pardon to the pirates in Ireland that summer. Middleton, was a bad choice for such a mission. His conduct brought him under suspicion of trading with the pirates and profiteering from the sale of pardons. He encouraged Captain William Baugh to remain at sea to gather more loot, by which time, Middleton assured him his pardon would be waiting in Ireland. He also neglected to try to contact Easton when Easton was near Mamora at Mesa.[3]

Despite Middleton's abuse of the royal pardon, the response of the pirates at Mamora was, on the whole, favourable. In the first half of 1612 many sailed into British ports to receive their pardon. Captain

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1 H.C.A. 13/98/60: 14 June 1613; 1/48/52: 22 July 1615.

2 Supra, p. 88.

3 Infra, pp. 314-6.

Robert Stephenson arrived at Leamcon in the Thomas, and committed one final piracy on a Flemish vessel before surrendering at Plymouth in the Flying Cow.[1] Captain Thomas Gallopp came in at Weymouth in the Hunter of Rotterdam, while Ralph Dee, his lieutenant, surrendered at Dungarvan in a thirty-ton French bark which Gallopp had exchanged for a Flemish prize at Santa Cruz.[2] Captain Arthur brought the Fortune into Ireland, Captain Gay came into Plymouth in the Francis, alias the Recovery of St. Gilles, and Hughs sailed up the Thames in the Black Raven.[3] Baugh, with his consorts Richard Millington and Philip Walker, eventually dropped anchor at Kinsale with several prizes, three of which they had renamed the Lion, the Lioness and the Whelp.[4]

Furthermore, some of Easton's consorts had deserted and come to England to seek James' mercy. Harvy, captain of the Lion Dore (one of the Biscayners captured at Harbour Grace), seized the Margaret of Washford and brought her home. The Lion Dore herself was eventually brought in by John Willmott, while Captain Holcomb ran away from Easton in Newfouldland and surrendered at Dartmouth in the White Swan of Amsterdam, which was carrying hides and victuals plundered from the

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1 H.C.A. 1/47/284: 12 May 1612; 13/42/156: 22 May 1613; 14/42/71.

2 H.C.A. 1/47/284: 12 May 1612; 13/42/81: 24 September 1612; 14/42/70.

3 H.C.A. 1/47/284: 12 May 1612; 14/42/72.

4 Baugh's prizes included the Cat of Amsterdam, the Archangel St. Michael of Lubeck (the Lion), the Nightingale (the Lioness), the Bull of Dieppe, the Pelican of La Rochelle and the Fort, a Flemish vessel. The Lion was furnished with thirty guns and the Whelp mounted sixteen. Other commanders of Baugh's prizes were Brian Midleton and one Miller. (H.C.A. 13/42/83, 116: 8 October, 24 December 1613; 13/98/45-6: 10 April 1613; 14/41/134; 14/42/16, 17, 32.)

Jacob.[1] Robert Tindal also fled from Easton, sailed to Kinsale and finally brought the Morris, a French prize into Fowey.[2] Latimer, along with a crew of twenty, who claimed that they had been forced into piracy, deserted with another of Easton's ships and gave themselves up at Tralee.[3]

The eagerness with which many pirates accepted the king's favour is not really surprising. Many of them had been seeking a pardon for some years. In 1609 Richard Jobson extended a protection to Captain Thompson, an old hand at piracy, who settled at Leamcon. Bishop, Easton and the other captains who came into Leamcon in that year watched with interest to see if Jobson's protection would be endorsed by a royal pardon, for they hoped and believed that:

> ... yf Thomson mighte bee suffered whome they helde the greateste offendor amongeste them, theere was none of them neede doubte but they shoulde have libtie to inhabitte those waste places ...[4]

Many of the pirates such as Bishop and Hughs were true patriots who had never intentionally harmed English shipping, and who were geniunely tired of their lives as sea-rovers, outlawed from their native

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1 H.C.A. 13/42/110: 17 November 1612; 13/98/60, 64: 14-15 June 1613. Another witness said the Lion Dore was brought into Plymouth in August 1612 by Captain Lambert (H.C.A. 13/98/36: 23 March 1613).

2 H.C.A. 13/98/34: 4 March 1613; 14/41/160.

3 Analecta Hiberinca, p.61, lord deputy to Lords of Council, 3 October 1612. Miller also deserted his consort Peter Johnson and submitted at Oisterhaven with booty valued at £500.

4 H.C.A. 1/47/107-8: 21 April 1610.

land.[1] The pardon, however, was only extended for a limited period of time and offenders were anxious to seize the opportunity while it was still available.[2] In any case, they had nothing to lose. All former crimes were forgiven, and they could return to their homes as free men, while, for the less sincere of these penitents, there was nothing to prevent them relapsing into their old ways at some future date. The offer was particularly attractive, because in most cases they were allowed to enjoy their ill-gotten gains. Baugh brought at least £3,000 in money and goods into Kinsale, but when his pardon arrived from England, it was only a pardon for his life - with no concessions allowing him to keep his loot. Because of this, Sir Arthur Chichester, who had already agreed to let the pirates retain half their goods, wrote to request that the pardon be altered to conform to his promise to the pirates. Chichester argued that he had been fortunate to induce the pirates to surrender on these terms, which were far less favourable to the pirates than those offered in England, where the offenders were usually allowed to keep all their

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1 When Hughs took victuals from the Friendship of London at Santa Cruz he told the crew that 'hee never intended to doe the least injury unto anie of his contry men'. He had even forced the Dutch pirate Captain Peck to swear not to harm English vessels, and he had turned his Dutch master ashore when he demanded that Hughs should be as severe with English shipping as he was with Dutch. Hughs was weary of piracy and earnestly desired his pardon. (H.C.A. 1/47/233-4: 11 September 1611.)

2 Baugh did not go to England because he was advised to wait in Ireland under the protection of the lord deputy in case James' pardon proved to be out of date (H.C.A. 13/98/38: 26 March 1613).

loot[1]. Some pirates even used the admiralty court to stake a claim to their share of the plunder. Captain Millington, Baugh's consort, claimed that he was owed one third of Baugh's profits,[2] and William Hughs even called witnesses to court to testify that he was the legal owner of the Black Raven, which had been left to him by Captain Hussey, another of the pirate captains.[3]

The general acceptance of the pardon in 1612, combined with the retirement of Easton and his band at Savoy, and of other English pirates at Leghorn,[4] should have cleared the Atlantic of marauders. Of the captains at Mamora, only Francke, White and Adyn refused to accept the pardon, and this was mainly because they were alienated by Middleton's behaviour.[5]

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1 Analecta Hibernica, pp. 63-4, Lord deputy to lord privy seal, 21 December 1612, pp. 64-6, lord deputy to Lords of Council, 24 December 1612; C.S.P. Ir. 1611-14, pp. 310-11, 21 December 1612. The Council eventually approved Chichester's agreement and the pirates received a share of some goods which they had plundered from Frenchmen (C.S.P. Ir. 1611-14, p.325, Council to Chichester, 28 February 1613). Baugh sued Sir William St. John, the naval captain who had arrested his ships, for the recovery of his booty, and was apparently successful, for there is a note dated March 1616, specifying payments made to the pirate since December 1613 in part of a sum of £2,586 (C.S.P. Dom. 1623-25, p.581).

2 H.C.A. 13/98/33-4, 37-8: 1, 26 March 1613.

3 H.C.A. 1/47/305: 9 August 1612.

4 Supra, p. 86 et seq.

5 H.C.A. 13/98/76-8: 3 July 1613.

Apart from those who surrendered peacefully, other leading captains had met violent deaths in the years prior to 1612. After 1609, when Spain and Holland were no longer at war, English pirates were increasingly drawn into conflict with Dutch rovers, who, denied the opportunity of privateering, now turned to attack the vessels of all nations, making no exception of English shipping. Matters reached a climax early in 1611, when the English captains Francke, Hussy , Plumley, Baugh and Parker attacked the ships of the Dutch captains Stoute, Jacques and Johnson, alias Drinkwater, in the harbour of Mamora:

> ... by reason that the said Flemish Captannes had before taken the said Captanne Francke at Mamora and spoyled him of all his welth, and also burned his fingers' endes of, and tormented him otherwise by the privy members, and many others of his company in most cruell maner ... [1]

A desperate battle raged for three days. Stoute's man-of-war was burnt, and one of his prizes was sunk. The Dutch were eventually defeated , and Drinkwater was forced to flee under cover of night after Stoute and Jacques had been slain. The victory, however, cost the English dear. Of their five captains only Francke and Baugh survived.[2]

Bitter competition between pirates of different nationalities was but one reason for the disappearance from the scene of many pirate captains prior to 1612. Others had been overtaken by the natural hazards of their way of life. Boniton was executed at Marseilles, Saxbridge slain in battle in Newfoundland, Jennings and Harris captured and executed at Wapping, and Sockwell, 'that petty rebel and pirate', who had set himself up as king of Lundy Island, was thrown overboard and killed by Easton - perhaps in an attempt to appease James.[3]

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1 H.C.A. 1/47/177; 9 April 1611. 2 Ibid.

3 C.S.P. Ir. 1608-10, p.495, lord deputy to Salisbury and Nottingham, 21 September 1610. For the ends of these pirates' careers see appendix II.

Yet Atlantic piracy continued unabated after 1612, despite all the pirates who had met violent deaths or who had taken advantage of the pardon. Although few of the pardoned pirate captains resumed their careers, their men, who had usually received a meagre pay-off, remained dissatisfied. Easton's followers were so badly treated in Savoy that many made their way back to Mamora, to carry on as they had done before.[1] For example, Thomas Tucker, who had been master's mate in the Concord, sailed to Mamora, and then went to sea with Captain John Woodland, alias Mendoza, in the Lion, manned by a crew of nearly 100. Tucker eventually became captain of the Fortune, and returned to the familiar hunting-grounds of the Spanish coasts and the islands. He rifled a Brazilman of fifty chests of sugar, green ginger and some money, and then in October 1614 he made prize of a Spanish West Indiaman with a cargo of hides, wood and tobacco, valued at £1000.[2]

Those pirates who surrendered in Britain also abused their pardons. The lord deputy of Ireland and foreign ambassadors were very sceptical of the government's policy of pardoning pirates, and believed it would aggravate the situation. Many of Baugh's crew, who had used up their booty and were still waiting for their pardons, returned to piracy in the meantime, and of those who received their pardon, many had reverted to their old ways within a year because they had been denied their fair share of loot.[3]

The strength of the pirate fleet at Mamora in 1614 was more formidable than it had ever been before. Including men-of-war and prizes, there were thirty vessels in the harbour, manned entirely by Englishmen, apart from a few Flemings. However, there had been a complete turnover amongst the pirate captains between 1612 and 1614. There were at least sixteen captains in possession of their own vessels,

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1 Supra, p. 92.

2 H.C.A. 1/6/174; 1/48/52-3, 57-9: 22, 29 July 1615.

3 Analecta Hibernica, pp. 111-2, lord deputy to Lords of Council, 26 June 1613; H.C.A. 13/98/39: 26 March 1613.

none of whom had been prominent in the fleets of Bishop or Easton. Most of their ships were of more than 100 tons burthen and two were of 300 tons. Apart from their men-of-war, the pirates also held several prizes in harbour.[1]

The sustained vigour of Atlantic piracy owed much to Henry Mainwaring He left England in mid-1613 with the Resistance, 160 tons, later renamed the Ambition, and the Nightingale, ostensibly for a voyage to the West Indies with a commission to take pirates. The two ships which were well-victualled and strongly-armed, were financed mainly from London and Dartmouth. After they had sailed a course for the Indies for some months, 'Maneringe altered his course and fell to takinge and

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1 H.C.A. 13/98/211: 9 August 1614. This witness, William Jackson, named the captains and their ships as: Mainwaring (admiral), Knightly (vice-admiral), John Collins (rear-admiral), Howel (Flemish, 160 tons), Henry Hull (French, 80 tons), Walsingham (100 tons), Jolliffe (Flemish, 160 tons), Woodland (several ships), Giles Penn, William Penn, Wilkinson (Flemish, 300 tons), John Ellis (Flemish, 300 tons), Michael Duppa (Flemish, 160 tons) and a Fleming (Flemish, 100 tons). Other captains at Mamora at this time included Myagh and Thickpenny. Mainwaring had three prizes with cargoes of corn, sugar, deal and wax. Jolliffe had a corn ship and the Penn brothers had three prizes laden with figs, wine and oil. Duppa had robbed a Portuguese ship of sugar and spices and Hull was in possession of some French cloth. (H.C.A. 13/98/189-91: 23 May 1614).

spoylinge of shipps and goodes'.[1] On 13 August he pirated the Golden Lion of Lubeck and the Gift of Calais on the Spanish coast, but his ships were scattered by Dutch warships between Safi and Santa Cruz and he lost a 300-ton sugar prize and also the Nightingale, which was captured by the Dutch at Lanzerote in September and taken to Flushing.[2]

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1 On 10 July 1612 Mainwaring bought the Resistance from Phineas Pett for £700. He paid £450 cash and his elder brother Arthur went bond for the remainder. ['The Autobiography of Phineas Pett', ed. W.G. Perrin, N.R.S. LI (1917), pp. 24, 96]. In May 1613, Edmund Clifton, master of the Resistance, hired a crew in London for a voyage to the West Indies. The ship then sailed to the west country, where victuals were taken in and Mainwaring assumed command. The voyage was financed by William Seymour, brother to Sir Edward, and by two Devonshire gentlemen who put up £100 apiece. Richard Clark, a Chichester merchant, hired his ship the Nightingale and adventured £50 for what he said he had believed to be a peaceful trading voyage to Guinea, while Henry Campernoune went surety for Mainwaring's good behaviour. (H.C.A. 13/98/185-6: 21 May 1614; 1/48/11: 17 November 1614). Mainwaring's piracies caused a stir in England, and Clark, Champernoune and John Blagden, who had been bound by the admiralty for Mainwaring's good conduct, were all arrested until restitution of his spoils was made. One Williamson, seal-keeper to the admiralty, was also arrested for sealing the Nightingale's commission to take pirates on insufficient security. However, they were all released after Mainwaring had made restitution of his spoils on the Golden Lion and the Gift. (A.P.C. 1613-14, pp. 407, 425, 436, 450, 480). G.E. Manwaring is very vague about the start of Mainwaring's piratical career. He believed that he sailed for Persia with Sir Robert Sherley some time in 1613 and then turned to piracy (Mainwaring, Life and Works, I. 11).

2 H.C.A. 13/98/188, 206: 23 May, 21 July 1614.

Spain suffered even more at the hands of the pirates after Mainwaring had established himself at Mamora. On 26 November 1614, Digby, the English ambassador in Spain, reported that Walsingham, one of Mainwaring's captains, had robbed the Spaniards of 500,000 crowns in six weeks.[1] Six years later, when Mainwaring - now lieutenant of Dover castle - went to meet Gondomar on his arrival in England, the Spanish ambassador jested that for Mainwaring's courtesy in meeting him, he would excuse him twelve crowns out of the million which he owed the Spaniards.[2]

Mainwaring's depredations in Newfoundland were as extensive as Easton's had been in 1612. He arrived there on the 4 June 1614 at the head of eight warlike ships, two of which he had captured off that coast. In a stay of more than three months he supplied all his needs, taking one in every sixth mariner from the British fishing fleet as well as a portion of their victuals. He also commandeered carpenters and took munitions and anything else that was necessary to put his ships in good condition. The foreigners in Newfoundland seem to have suffered more at his hands than the English, for he spoiled some French ships and took all the wine and provisions carried by the Portuguese fishermen, leaving them with only their bread. When the pirate fleet finally departed on 14 September, Mainwaring took with him about 400 mariners and fishermen, who seem to have been far more eager to join him than they had been to join Easton.[3]

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1 S.P. 94/20/282, Digby to [Somerset], 26 November 1614.

2 C.S.P. Dom. 1619-23, p.128, Mainwaring to Lord [Zouch], 6 March 1620.

3 Prowse, A History of Newfoundland, p.103.

The successes of the Atlantic pirates, especially after the appearance of Mainwaring, determined the Spanish to take some action. Early in August 1614, a Spanish fleet of ninety-nine ships and 7,000 men under General Don Luis Fajardo, dropped anchor in the roadstead opposite the entrance to Mamora. They found fifteen pirate ships in harbour, blockaded by Jan Evertsen, the commander of a squadron of three Dutch men-of-war. The pirates then in port were only able to offer token resistance to Fajardo's force. They tried to protect the harbour by strategically placed artillery, and erected a makeshift boom across the entrance as best they could. They were helped in their efforts by the confusion in the mighty Spanish fleet when it was discovered that the shallow bar at the entrance to the harbour would only allow ships of less than 300 tons to pass. However, after a few days, on 6 August, the Spaniards landed troops and occupied the town. They found ten vessels lying in harbour, which the pirates had not had time to burn, although most of the cargo had been unloaded. The Spanish did not take many prisoners, for most of the pirates were out at sea, while those who remained at Mamora had fled either inland, or to the Moorish city of Sally, twenty miles to the south.[1]

The fall of Mamora heralded the collapse of English piracy in the Atlantic. After 1615 there are very few indictments in the High Court of Admiralty for piracies committed in the Ocean . , even though the criminal records are continuous.[2] By 1620, fleets of the strength of those of Bishop, Easton and Mainwaring were a thing of the past and English piracy in the Old World would never / again be a serious menace to shipping. It was only in Caribbean waters in the second half of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries that English piracy again thrived on such a scale.

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1 Henry de Castries, Les Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc de 1530 à 1845. Archives et bibliothèques de France, Paris, 1922- II. 566-72, Relation de la Prise de El-Mamora, 7 August 1614; H.C.A. 1/48/34: 29 March 1615.

2 Appendix I(b).

The reasons for this sudden demise are not immediately obvious. It is naive to suggest, as Moore does, that English piracy disappeared because the maritime population of England suddenly found ample opportunities for legitimate employment, which had been denied them ever since the end of the Anglo-Spanish war.[1] If anything, robbery - both on land and sea - increases in proportion to the prosperity of society, so that piracy becomes more attractive during peacetime. Englishmen, always harbouring a healthy disrespect for the law, had been given a taste for plunder by the Elizabethan wars, which would not have been easily eradicated by a decade of peace.

After 1610, life for pirates in the Atlantic became more difficult. Ireland had always been a safe place for them to clean and victual their ships, sell their loot and provide themselves with provisions which made their shipboard existence tolerable. The continual commerce with pirates, which was almost the main industry along the entire coast of Munster, had caused the English government considerable concern and all attempts to discipline the local populace had failed. In August 1610, the Council of Munster decided that there was only one practical course left open to them and declared that:

> ... we can find no other assured means left for the security of those lewd and wicket pirates, but by unpeopling and laying waste certain Islands in those borders and other places open unto their arrivals, which they have and yet do hitherto most commonly frequent.[2]

Accordingly, commissioners were appointed to depopulate Inisherkin and the other islands used by pirates; to close all superfluous taverns and alehouses; to take security from everyone inhabiting the coastal area for their good behaviour; to arrest all suspicious persons and to establish an effective force of horse and foot soldiers to give chase to any pirates who landed and to fortify the coast.[3]

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1 Moore, 'Some Aspects of English Piracy', p. 249.

2 The Council Book of the Corporation of Kinsale from 1652 to 1800, ed. Richard Caulfield, Guildford, 1879, p.313.

3 Ibid., pp. 313-4.

Of course, no universal success resulted from these measures, and pirates were still frequent visitors to Munster after 1610. Yet other measures made things more difficult for them. In 1612, the castle at Leamcon, which controlled the stretch of coast which had been the most notorious resort of the pirates, was taken from the control of Sir William Hull, a man who had been continually involved in piracy, and fortified on the orders of the lord deputy.[1] The following year the trial of piracy in Ireland was finally brought into line with legal procedure in England and a new court of admiralty established.[2] Certainly Ireland was becoming unsafe for pirates, and this may have been the reason that both Easton and Mainwaring chose to make the hazardous voyage to Newfoundland to supply their needs in the summers of 1612 and 1614, rather than to go to Ireland as previous pirates had done.

The numbers and strength of the pirates in 1610-11 had stimulated the English and the Dutch to take steps to suppress them. James himself favoured a policy of pardon as the most expedient means at his disposal to overcome the problem without having to finance a full-scale naval expedition.[3] However, although many pirates accepted their pardons in 1612, this did nothing to diminish their numbers.[4] The pinnaces which patrolled the Irish coast were no deterrent, and in the summer of 1611 the lord admiral pointed out to Salisbury the futility of

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1 Ibid., p.317.

2 Supra, p.25. In a document of c. 1612, piracy in Munster is spoken of as a thing of the past, for although pardoned pirates were living there, lawlessness and trafficking with pirates is mentioned as having occurred in 'former times'. (B.M. Cott. MS. Otho E VIII, f. 379). This document has been damaged by fire, but it is in the same handwriting as f. 378, which can be dated as 1611 or 1612, because it mentions that Captains Hughs, Smith and Stephenson were then negotiating for their pardons with Captain Middleton at Leamcon.

3 Infra, p. 302.

4 Supra, p. 150.

despatching the Rainbow and a small ship against Easton's forces when the pirates already had three great ships, each of which was about as heavily-armed as the Rainbow herself. Nottingham advocated that either two more small ships should be sent with the Rainbow, or that the whole project should be abandoned until a sufficiently strong force could be equipped.[1]

In fact the greatest threat to English pirates in these years came from the Dutch. In 1611 James granted permission to the States General to send men-of-war to pursue pirates on the Irish and Welsh coasts and thereby to undertake the task which the British navy was unable to carry out.[2] The Dutch sent forth sixteen warships in 1611, which not only patrolled British waters but also went south to scour the sea towards the Straits.[3] The Hollanders soon proved themselves to be unrelenting in their search for English pirates. In 1611 and 1612 they took the ships of Bishop and Lambert Bastfield in Ireland, and in 1613 Mainwaring also suffered at their hands.[4] They showed no mercy to the pirates they caught and were unscrupulous in the tactics which they employed. In March 1614, the pirate Captain Myagh surrendered at Crookhaven in a Flemish ship of 160 tons with booty worth at least £5,000, whereupon he received a protection from lord deputy Chichester. However, Mey Lambert, the Dutch naval commander, appeared on the scene with four Dutch warships, and, refusing to recognize the pirates' protection or to pay any heed to the entreaties of the local admiralty officials, he proceeded to attack Myagh's ship, killing forty of the crew as well as some bystanders on shore, before he finally sailed off with his prize, in contravention of the conditions under which James had allowed the Dutch to police his coasts.[5]

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1 S.P. 14/65/37, Nottingham to Salisbury, 17 July 1611.

2 Infra, p. 311.

3 Infra, p. 312, C.S.P. Ven. 1610-13, p. 218, Foscarini to Doge and Senate, 30 September 1611.

4 H.C.A. 13/98/79: 9 July 1613; supra, pp. 137, 152 and infra, p. 243.

5 H.C.A. 13/98/209-10: 3 August 1614.

By 1614, perhaps spurred on by the over-enthusiastic conduct of the Dutch, even the English government was making a significant contribution to the suppression of piracy in Ireland. In May of that year Sir William Monson and Sir Francis Howard sailed for Scotland with two royal ships and two other vessels in search of some pirates, but finding nothing they set their course for Broadhaven in Ireland, where, posing as Henry Mainwaring, Monson was able to uncover the activities of some of the population who were trafficking with pirates. After threatening to hang the main offenders, he eventually pardoned them and enlisted their co-operation to capture a pirate ship which had taken refuge at a nearby island. Monson summarily executed the pirate captain and carried the other principal offenders back to England with him.[1] He boasted that piracy died out in Ireland after 1614 as a result of the stern measures which he had taken against those who were in league with pirates.[2] However, piracy on such a desolate coast as Munster was not to be discouraged at one fell swoop. Monson may not have known it, but the year after his visit, Michael Cormocht, who had been the chief reliever of the pirates at Broadhaven, was up to his old tricks again, for he victualled Captain Woodland and entertained him and a Captain Tucker and their crews in his house - just as he had entertained Monson in the previous year.[3]

Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that Ireland was no longer as popular with pirates as it had once been. It is interesting to note that Monson was able to trick the people of Broadhaven by impersonating Mainwaring, for no one can have known the famous pirate leader by sight. Indeed, although Mainwaring shows a great deal of knowledge about Ireland in his Discourse, he does not appear to have visited the Irish coast in person before he came in for his pardon in 1615.

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1 Monson, Tracts, III. 59-68.

2 Ibid., III. 69.

3 H.C.A. 1/48/150-1: 22 September 1619. Cormocht kept a gold chain and 400 dubloons in safe keeping for Captain Tucker.

Newfoundland was almost as good as Ireland as a recruiting ground for men and as a place to repair ships and to gather supplies. However, it was far from ideal as a summer base of operations, for although the Banks provided an alternative 'storehouse' to Ireland, the crossing was dangerous and there was little hope of plunder over there. In 1612, almost 400 men deserted Easton while in Newfoundland, and returned to England because they were dissatisfied with conditions.[1]

English pirates still continued to plunder fishermen on the Newfoundland coast as late as the 1620's, but they never again appeared in such force as they had done under Easton or Mainwaring. John Ellis, who had been in Newfoundland with Mainwaring in 1614,[2] was on the coast again in 1617, in company with the Flemish rover Captain Jacob, when he captured a French bark and a Portuguese ship and took all the ordnance from two ships of Bristol and Guernsey.[3] In 1618, two ships and a carvel under Captain Wollaston turned to piracy in the colony, after they had left the fleet of Sir Walter Raleigh, which was returning from the expedition to the Orinoco. These pirates mainly preyed on French fisherman, and made their spoils pay by carrying several of their prizes,

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1 Supra, pp144-5. In July 1612 John Gay wrote from Newfoundland that two of Easton's companies, each comprising about 180 men, had stolen away in ships of Barnstaple and Plymouth (Prowse, op. cit., pp. 127-8).

2 H.C.A. 1/48/35: 5 April 1615.

3 Prowse, op. cit., p. 103. This account of spoils in Newfoundland from 1612-21 states that Ellis was there in 1616, but from his examination in the admiralty it appears that he had surrendered with Mainwaring at Broadhaven and was, as he said, forcibly carried off to sea by Jacob early in 1617 (H.C.A. 1/48/227-8: 16 March 1619).

laden with dried fish, to Leghorn for sale.[1] The coasts of the colony were never particularly settled owing to the unruly behaviour of the English fishermen themselves, even though no more pirates visited Newfoundland until 1622, when Captain John Nutt, who had apparently been active on the Barbary coast, supplied his needs, mainly by plundering the French fishermen.[2]

Newfoundland, like Ireland, gradually became less secure for pirates. in May 1620, John Mason, a strong governor of the colony, received a commission from the English admiralty to send out the Peter and Andrew of London, 320 tons, against pirates,[3] and in the following year James sent two English men-of-war to protect the fisheries at the request of some Scottish adventurers.[4] Such a guard was probably not present every year, but in 1623 two good ships were again sent to the colony.[5]

Although Newfoundland and Ireland were becoming more dangerous for pirates, this alone would have been insufficient to drive English pirates completely from the Atlantic; both coasts were no more than bases which sustained the rovers during the summer months so that they could continue their depredations from the Moroccan coast throughout the rest of the year. The crucial event which split the English pirates and brought about the complete demise of English piracy in the

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1 Prowse, op.cit., p.103. On arrival they took £500 from the French fishers and taxed all the harbours of Newfoundland for powder shot and other requirements to the value of £2,000. They carried off 130 men and plundered seven French ships with cargoes of dried fish worth £5,400 (three of which they sailed to Leghorn), and ruined the voyage of another, to the tune of £500.

2 H.C.A. 1/49/196: 9 July 1623.

3 Prowse, op. cit., p.108.

4 Ibid., p.104, n.

5 Ibid., pp.135-6.

Atlantic in only a very few years, was the loss of Mamora to Spain. It is amazing that a band of pirates should have been in control of one of the best harbours in North Africa for so long, especially when the area was being continually fought over between Spain and the local rulers. At the start of 1612, apart from Mamora, all the good harbours in North Africa - both inside and outside the Straits - were controlled by one side or the other. Tunis, Algiers, Sally and Tetuan were all held by the Turks or Moors, while the Spanish occupied Oran, Centa, Tangier, Larache, Asamor and Mazagan. The other towns on the Atlantic coast such as Safi, Santa Cruz and Mogador were no more than open roadsteads and could provide no security for the pirates' ships.[1]

One reason that the English rovers were able to hold onto Mamora for so long was that the local princes were willing to tolerate them because their energies were directed mainly against Spain.[2] The fall of Mamora was, however, inevitable. The Spanish attack in 1614 was not the first attempt that had been made, for in the summer of 1611, when Fajardo had captured Larache, Don Pedro de Toledo had blockaded Mamora and had temporarily 'choked' the haven by sinking eight ships in order to hinder its use by pirates.[3] By 1614, the hands of many rulers were turned against the English rovers. When Fajardo's armada arrived, the Dutch commander Evertsen was already blockading the harbour. He had persuaded John Harrison, the English agent in Morocco, to write to the pirates asking them to uphold Anglo-Dutch friendship and to surrender Mamora to him, which would thus prevent it from falling into Spanish hands. Evertsen was, however, quite prepared to use force to capture the harbour if it should prove necessary, and he was only waiting for

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1 Capt. John Smith, Works 1608-1631, ed. Arber, p.914; Monson, Tracts, V.61.

2 De Castries, Sources inédites, Archives d'Angleterre, II. 547, Memoir of Anthony Sherley, 2 November 1622.

3 H.M.C. Downshire, III. 123, Sir John Digby to William Trumbull, 17 August 1611; C.S.P. Ven. 1610-13, pp. 188, 197, 204, Piero Priuli to Doge and Senate, 30 July, 17 August, 8 September 1611.

permission from Mouley Zidan, king of Morocco, before proceeding to the attack.[1] Thus, although Evertsen was forestalled in his plans by Fajardo's appearance, it is apparent that the Dutch and the Moors were just as intent on driving out the pirates as the Spanish were. Once taken, Mamora was not to be recaptured, for the Spanish immediately strengthened the defences and henceforth it was proof against even the most determined attack.[2]

The importance of Mamora to the English pirates was that it had been the one safe harbour from which they had been able to continue their depredations without undue interference from either Turks or Moors. It had also provided a focal point for illicit trading, where pirates had been able to dispose of their plunder to Moors, Jews or Christian traders who were attracted there by the prospect of cheap booty. English, Dutch, French and Italians supplied the pirates with commodities which they were otherwise unable to obtain. Traders flocked to Mamora with guns, powder, victuals, beer, wine, aqua vitae, tobacco, opium, cards, dice, and all manner of clothes - hats, stockings, hose and doublets. These they sold, or more profitably, bartered for the pirates' prizes, especially for sugar and other goods plundered from Spanish Brazilmen or West Indiamen. The entrepreneurs then smuggled their loot home, or simply sailed to the Italian ports, and Leghorn in particular, which were in close contact with the pirates and where this illicit trade was

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1 De Castries, op. cit., II. 442.

2 In 1621, the Turks and Moors beseiged Mamora by land and sea, but the Spanish eventually relieved the town by sending a fleet of twelve galleons from Cadiz (ibid., II. 518, Walter Aston to George Calvert, 13 June 1621).

openly encouraged.[1]

The disinherited pirates never found another base where they could again enjoy such independence of action. In fact very few of them had been captured by the Spanish when Mamora was taken, for most were out at sea. Mainwaring had sailed for Newfoundland with five ships and the rest of the fleet was hovering off the Spanish coast, except for Jolliffe and Woodland, who had sailed north in an attempt to disrupt the Russian trade.[2] However, they could not remain at sea indefinitely. Many soon entered the Mediterranean, where they were forced to surrender on the best conditions available. In October 1614, some English pirates arrived in Tuscany in two ships, presented the grand duke with a gift of twenty slaves, and begged a safe-conduct for nine more of their vessels which were laden with booty.[3] Others found their way to Algiers or Tunis, where, either voluntarily or under duress, they served in the rapidly expanding naval squadrons of the Turks.[4] Prominent amongst these was Robert Walsingham, who put into Algiers late in 1614 in the Pilgrim, 200 tons, twenty guns. His ship was sent to sea in the Turkish squadron

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1 H.C.A. 1/47/237-40: 16 October 1611. The pirates might have been subject to some arbitrary interference from time to time, especially when the Moors needed military assistance. However, the Moors did not govern the pirates or participate in their voyages. De Castries observed that: 'Au Maroc, les souverains incontestés ou les prétendants avaient par un accord tacite toléré ces établissements, moyennant de payment de redevances plus ou moins arbitraires et une part prélevée sur les prises.' (De Castries, Sources inédites Archives des Pays-Bas, I. ix). The pirates were probably aided in maintaining their independence by the civil wars in Morocco.

2 H.C.A. 13/98/211: 9 August 1614.

3 Tenenti, Decline of Venice, p.85.

4 Supra, p.84.

which captured the Susan Constance of London on 28 June 1615 between Cadiz and San Lucar, and which robbed her of calf skins, cloth, lead and pepper worth over £3,000 and stripped the crew of their clothes and victuals. On his return to Algiers, Walsingham's ship was confiscated and he remained ashore for a year before he was again sent to sea as captain of a Tunisian vessel. Eventually he effected his escape when most of his Turkish crew had gone ashore at Algiers for water and victuals. He sailed to Ireland and landed at Berehaven, where he surrendered to the earl of Thomond and threw himself on James' mercy.[1]

Mainwaring, on the other hand, rejected the temptation to enter the service of other states, turning down offers from Tuscany, Savoy, Tunis and even Spain.[2] His chances of receiving an English pardon were good because he ~~His piracies had been patriotic, in that they~~ had caused little damage to British shipping, and he had no desire to compromise the independence which he had enjoyed at Mamora. He continued to operate in the Ocean for more than a year after he had lost his base. In the summer of 1615, with only a couple of vessels under his command, he bested four royal Spanish ships after a long engagement in their home waters,[3] but by November he was in Ireland seeking a pardon for himself and his men.[4] This was formally granted on 9 June 1616, on the condition that he restored his booty to the injured parties.[5]

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1 H.C.A. 1/6/191; 1/48/67, 75-6: 29 January 1616, 16 July 1618.

2 Mainwaring, Life and Works, II. 11-12.

3 C.S.P. Ven. 1613-15, p.509 and n., Contarini to Doge and Senate, 7 July 1615. Mainwaring claimed that he had 'put off' five sail of Spanish vessels all day with only two ships under his command (Mainwaring, op. cit., II. 11-12).

4 Mainwaring, op. cit., I. 30.

5 Ibid., I. 31.

Of course, piracy still appealed to Englishmen after 1615. While Mainwaring was awaiting his pardon off the north-west coast of Ireland, nearly sixty men asked to join him and others wrote from the south for a similar purpose.[1] Indeed, James later regretted pardoning him, because he belived that it had only encouraged others to take to piracy.[2] Certainly, many of Mainwaring's men soon relapsed into their old ways even before their pardons had come through. Early in 1616, thirty-five of them boarded the African of London, which was about to sail from Gravesend on a whaling voyage, and carried her to sea, where they plundered the Prodigal Son of Amsterdam off the North Foreland.[3] However, although Ireland, Newfoundland and even the British coast still offered some opportunities for the individual rover, there was no longer any pirate base or established pirate fleet towards which such malcontents could gravitate.

English rovers, once the scourge of the Atlantic, were little more than irritants after 1615. The career of John Ellis, who had been a captain under Mainwaring, shows to what dire straits those who chose to continue in piracy were reduced. After his voyage to Newfoundland, Ellis arrived on the Irish coast late in 1618, where he wrote to the English naval commander Sir Thomas Button asking to be allowed to take up a pardon as Mainwaring had done almost three years earlier. However, piracy was no longer such a threat that the English government was forced to grant pardons to prevent further spoils. Thus, fearing capture by Button, Ellis sailed to Tenby in October, where he was barred from trafficking with the local inhabitants by Sir John Perrot. By March 1619 he was in custody and two months later he was tried in London and hanged.[4]

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1 Ibid., II. 16-17.

2 C.S.P. Ven 1619-21, p.356, Lando to Doge and Senate, 10 August, 1620.

3 H.C.A. 1/6/176; 1/48/89: 27 April 1616.

4 H.C.A. 1/7/13; 1/48/193, 227-8: 3 December 1618, 16 March 1619.

After 1620, the names of very few English pirates stand out. John Nutt is particularly well-known because of his associations with Sir John Eliot and Calvert. He took to piracy in about August 1621 and frequented the coasts of Ireland, Newfoundland and Barbary for a time before he came in for his pardon in 1623.[1] On 16 March 1623, he and his crew of thirty-four, in a 120-ton Flemish bottom mounting thirteen guns, had robbed the Fisher of Southampton of her supplies and furniture as she was outward-bound for Newfoundland, forcing her to turn back.[2] In May he had been on the Irish coast where he had plundered a bark of Padstow in the mouth of Dungarvan harbour, and then, making for Devon to receive his pardon, had robbed three other small vessels off Lands End.[3]

Other Englishmen took the opportunity of serving under commissions from La Rochelle, but after 1625 there was probably an adequate outlet for the piratical instincts of the English maritime population in the privateers which were sent out from British ports against France and Spain.[4] After the war ended, English pirates caused some disruption to trade for a few years. Robert Nutt, who had probably served under a commission from La Rochelle in 1622,[5] and who had been a privateer during

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1 H.C.A. 1/49/196: 9 July 1623; The Council Book of the Corporation of Youghal, ed. R. Caulfield, Guildford, 1878, pp. xlviii-l.

2 The Book of Examinations and Depositions, 1622-1644, ed. R.C. Anderson (Southampton Record Society), vol. I, 1929, pp.16-17.

3 The Council Book of the Corporation of Youghal, ed. Caulfield, p. xlix .

4 Infra, pp.200-1. It may be the same John Nutt who served in the privateer the Mary Margaret of Absom (Topsham?) and who was in trouble in 1627 for making prize of Dutch goods (The Book of Examinations and Depositions, 1622-1644, ed. Anderson, I. 95).

5 On 12 July 1622, Robert Nutt, a Topsham mariner, was examined in the admiralty on suspicion of serving a commission of La Rochelle (H.C.A. 13/43/348).

wartime, enjoyed a brief success as a pirate. However, by 1632 he had been executed in Spain, and John Norman, his lieutenant, was lost at sea in the following year.[1] The careers of both John and Robert Nutt deserve to be remembered as little more than a swan-song, recalling the once great strength of English piracy in the Atlantic.

This is not to say that a vacuum had been created by the disappearance of English pirates, for even during the second decade of the century they were being replaced in the Ocean by the formidable squadrons of Turkish rovers - and in particular those of Algiers and Sally. Coasts which had once been the preserve of English pirates now became threatened by the raids of their successors. As early as 1617 the Turks visited Iceland, and by Charles' reign they were a continual menace on the British coast.[2] In 1625 they sailed to Newfoundland, where they took twenty-seven vessels and 200 prisoners.[3] It is significant that under a commission to suppress pirates, which was granted to the governor of Newfoundland, the only pirate ship which was captured was a Sally rover, which was taken at Crookhaven in 1625.[4] It seems almost poetic justice that the population of Baltimore, who had done so much to encourage English piracy in the early years of the century, should suffer such heavy losses at the hands of the Turks as they did in 1631, when their town was plundered and more than one hundred of them carried off into slavery.[5]

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1 Infra, pp. 202-4.

2 Infra, p. 206 et seq.

3 Prowse, A History of Newfoundland from the English Colonial and Foreign Records, p. 146.

4 Ibid., p.108.

5 The Council Book of the Corporation of Kinsale, ed. Caulfied, pp. xxxiii-xxxv.

Even if English pirates had survived in any numbers after 1620, they would have found it increasingly difficult to make a living in the Atlantic. The Turkish raids into the Ocean had caused considerable alarm in Europe. Merchantmen sailed towards the Straits heavily-armed and manned, and the English and Dutch both sent out naval expeditions for the specific purpose of exterminating all pirates. The Spanish were so aroused by the raids of the Turkish corsairs that in 1615 Spanish subjects were allowed to send ships to sea to capture the marauders - not perhaps a particularly effective measure because the Spanish had neither the facilities nor the experience to make successful privateers.[1] Nevertheless, it can be seen how difficult it had become for the diminishing numbers of English pirates to exist in the Ocean.

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1 C.S.P. Ven. 1613-15, pp. 484-5, Francesco Morosini to Doge and Senate, 21 June 1615.

CHAPTER V

THE THAMES AND THE ENGLISH COAST

There is a very clear distinction to be drawn between the pirates of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean and those who worked the English coast. Once the deep-sea pirates had left England, they continued their depredations in open defiance of all nations and rarely returned to hinder shipping in home waters. A more furtive kind of piracy flourished in the rivers, creeks and harbours around the English coast. True, early in 1610 some of the Atlantic pirates ventured onto the western coast. In February Peter Easton was in the Kingroad threatening Bristol's trade,[1] and in March Thomas Sockwell sacked Milford and briefly established himself as 'King of Lundy', capturing several vessels which passed the island.[2] However, such intrusions were all the more conspicuous because of their rarity. The confined waters of the English Channel, which were well-patrolled, deterred the Atlantic rovers from venturing further eastwards, where the prevailing westerly winds might prevent them from regaining the comparative safety of the Ocean.

Some idea of the coastal areas which were most frequented by pirates can be gained from the records of the High Court of Admiralty. Between 1603 and 1640, eighty-six indictments were drawn up for piracies which were committed either on the English coast or in English harbours.[3] Although this is not a complete list of piracies committed in English waters during the period, it is undoubtedly more comprehensive than the list of indictments for those piracies committed abroad or on the high

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1 C.S.P. Dom. 1603-10, p.586, John Hopkins to Nottingham, 6 February 1610.

2 Supra, p. 111.

3 For the location of piracies on the English coast see Appendix I(a).

seas. This was because there was greater vigilance on the English coast, and naturally enough, a spoil which occurred nearer home was more likely to be discovered and brought to the attention of the admiralty than one which took place in distant seas.[1]

~~From these indictments, a clear picture of piracy in English waters emerges.~~ The indictments suggest that in English waters the ~~The~~ Thames was by far the most important area, fifty-one out of eighty-six spoils occurring on the river of the capital under the very nose of the government. Outside the Thames, the activities of English pirates were mainly confined to the south and east coasts. Eight indictments were for piracies in the immediate area of the Thames Estuary: six at the North Foreland, a favourite hunting ground, one at the Isle of Thanet and the other at an unspecified place on the Kent coast. Five more occurred on the coasts of Norfolk and Suffolk: two at Orford Ness, and the others at Cromer; on the sea between Aldeburgh and Southwold, and in the mouth of the Great Ouse. Further north on the east coast, piracies were more sporadic, depredations being recorded off Flamborough Head and at Burlington Bay, Whitby and Sunderland.

On the south coast, the Isle of Wight was the most popular resort of pirates and six spoils were recorded there during the period (three of them at Cowes), while further along the coast two vessels were pirated at Portland, one in Portsmouth harbour and another in the Channel. Surprisingly enough, very few vessels were plundered on the coasts of Devon and Cornwall, although these two counties bred a high percentage of pirates and the local inhabitants were probably more willing than those of any other counties in England to traffic with pirates. The peculiar immunity of the south-west seems to be due to the fact that, as in Ireland, pirates were reluctant to bite the hand which fed them.[2] One ship was pirated off the Lizard and anotheroff the north coast of

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1 Of 178 indictments for separate piracies from 1603-40, almost half were committed in English waters.

2 Supra, pp. 118-9.

Cornwall between St. Ives and Padstow, but only two piracies were recorded on the coast itself: one in the port of Plymouth and the other in Falmouth harbour. True, four other piracies were considered to have occurred close enough to the Scilly Isles for the fact to be recorded in the indictments, but of these, only one took place in the immediate locality of the islands, off St. Marys, while the others all occurred as far as 100 miles out to sea.

Thus, from the criminal indictments of the High Court of Admiralty, piracy in England appears to have been confined mainly to the south and east coasts, between the Isle of Wight and the Wash, with an overwhelming concentration on the Thames. However, it seems likely that the records of the London court are not entirely representative of piracy throughout the kingdom.[1] It can be shown that piracy in the Bristol Channel was of some importance,[2] and it is hard to believe that not a single vessel was spoiled on the north-west coast during the period - even allowing for the fact that it was a commercial backwater and boasted very few ships.

The Thames itself was the hub of English piratical activity, and robberies on the river continued to plague the government throughout the reigns of both James and Charles. All robberies within the high-water mark and below London Bridge were treated as piracy by the admiralty court - not a meaningless distinction perhaps, since larger vessels with richer cargoes could not venture upstream beyond the bridge, and piracy was therefore likely to be of more moment than river robbery. In the first half of the seventeenth century there was more sea-borne traffic on the Thames than ever before.[3] By 1603 the population of

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1 Supra, p. viii et seq.

2 Infra, p. 187.

3 Because of the narrow streets and the dangers from footpads and highwaymen, the river was a common form of transportation. Stow estimated that not counting 'great ships, and other vessels of burden', there were 2,000 wherries and other small boats employing at least 3,000 poor men. [Charles Lethbridge Kingsford (ed.), A Survey of London by John Stow, 2 vols., Oxford, 1908, I.12.]

London had increased to more than a quarter of a million, and it overshadowed all other cities in the kingdom in importance. This increased growth and prosperity presented the lawless elements with golden opportunities for plunder. Paul Hentzner gave some idea of the rich pickings that waited on the river, when in 1597, on a visit to London, he observed in his Itinerary that:

> The wealth of the world is wafted to it by the Thames, swelled by the tide, and navigable to merchant ships through a safe and deep channel for sixty miles from its mouth to the City.[1]

Apart from the traditional trades, the London merchants dominated the new ones with the New World, the Indies and the Levant. In 1620, to finance the expedition against the pirates, the London merchants were called upon to pay £40,000 - twice as much as the contribution demanded from all the outports put together. The pre-eminent position of London was certainly resented by the merchants of the provinces, who saw the uncontrolled growth of the city as sapping the energy from the rest of the country. London's trade continued to grow, and small barks laden with food and dairy produce made their way up the Thames from further and further afield to meet the growing needs of the city, while the Newcastle colliers plied their expanding trade in an effort to keep the Londoners warm.

It is hardly surprising to find that the expansion of London's trade was accompanied by a marked growth in piracy. The menace had been increasing since James' accession, and in September 1613, after a complaint by the Merchants Strangers of the city, the Council declared that the problem was due to the growth of:

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1 Quoted by Norman G. Brett-James, The Growth of Stuart London, 1935, p. 21.

> ... loose and ill disposed marriners and other seafaringmen as are suffered to passe in wherries and other boates by that towne of Gravesende, and soe falling further downe joyne themselves in partnershipp and sease upon such pinckes and boates as they fined fitt for their purposes, and comitt these outrages and spoyles here within the mouth of the river, to the dishonor of the justice and goverment of the State and the infinite prejudice of the marchant ...[1]

The only action which the Council took was to advise the searchers of Gravesend to bring suspicious men who could not account for their employment before a justice or the judge of the admiralty.[2] Some men were arrested as a result of this directive, but it was clearly impossible to take into custody every suspicious-looking man on the busiest stretch of water in the world. On 26 June 1614 the searchers of Gravesend informed the admiralty judge that they had indeed arrested several men on suspicion of piracy, who 'without all doubt were mynded to have putt som suche lyke matter in practis'. However, the cost of keeping these men in prison was weighing heavily upon the searchers, and it was impossible to charge men with offences before they had committed them.[3]

One of the men who gave the Merchant Strangers cause for complaint was Thomas Brooker, a ship's carpenter from Rochester, who had served in three Newcastle voyages, besides being in one of the king's ships which had ferried Princess Elizabeth over to Flushing earlier in 1613. Brooker had already been in trouble with the admiralty during the previous year, but no charges had been brought against him. One of his accomplices was Henry Stake, a gunner from Chilcompton in Somerset, who had been pressed to serve in one of the ships sent out by Bristol against pirates. After this employment, Stake claimed that he came

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1 A.P.C. 1613-14, pp. 194-5.

2 Ibid.

3 H.C.A. 14/41/40, George Tucker and John Robinson to Sir Richard Trevor.

to London to take up a berth on a ship, but that he was unable to sail after being injured in a brawl, so he joined forces with Brooker, who promised to get him a voyage to Newcastle. Brooker and his followers, who numbered about ten, had no difficulty in taking a fishing boat at Leigh. Transferring into another fishing boat at Shoeburyness, they sailed towards Orford Ness, where on 25 August 1613, they robbed the master of the Golden Cock of Haarlem of some clothes and other trifles worth only a few pounds. After keeping this hoy for a short time, they commandeered the Desire of Barking, a fishing ketch belonging to James Wasse. Sailing south, they attacked the Cock of St. Omer off Reculver and seized upon her cargo of lawns and cambrics worth £182, belonging to some French merchants of Cambrai. Brooker and his men then loaded their booty into the Desire and forced Wasse to put them ashore at Gillingham. The pirates made their way overland to London, where Brooker sold some of the loot at St. Bartholomew's Fair, and Stake had a narrow escape from the constables while hiding in a friend's house in Shoreditch.[1]

Only Brooker and Stake were ever arraigned for this piracy, and even then, Allard Verecke, the master of the Cock, found it difficult to identify them, for he had only glimpsed them briefly in the dark. Both pirates confessed their guilt and were condemmed to death. However, Stake was reprieved, somewhat surprisingly, because he may have been the same Henry Stakes, a Bristol sailor, who was indicted but never arraigned for two piracies on the Thames in 1607.[2]

Some of the reasons for the prevalence of piracy in the Thames can be discerned from this episode. It was easy for ringleaders to collect a force of a dozen or so men 'to goe downe River to doe an exploite.'[3] Often these robbers were complete strangers who met in

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1 H.C.A. 1/6/115-6; 13/98/27, 30-1, 85-94: August, 1 September 1613.

2 H.C.A. 1/5/177-8; 1/6/127, 129.

3 H.C.A. 13/98/154: 20 December 1613.

the waterside taverns and banded together for a few days only. Sometimes they had specific intelligence of some rich ship anchored in the river, but more often they just rowed down below Gravesend where they attacked whatever ships came their way. The pirates did not even need boats of their own, for it was a simple matter to force a wherryman or fisherman into their service and use his boat as their boarding craft. It was difficult for the court to ascertain how willingly a wherryman or fisherman had placed his boat at the pirate's disposal. Two days before Brooker and Stake's piracies, Evan Tege, a waterman of Shadwell, had rowed six men down river below Gravesend, where they spied the Green Hat, a hoy of Dordrecht, lying on the mud. Taking off their hose and shoes, the pirates waded through the ooze, and finding the crew on shore, they made off with two feather mattresses, some sweetmeats, a sword and thirty shillings, belonging to a Dutch soldier. Tege was captured by some fishermen as he rowed off in his boat, and was indicted for piracy, but he was acquitted after he testified that the pirates were passengers who had forced him to go along with them.[1]

Although Thameside piracy usually involved more trifling amounts than deep-sea piracy, river pirates could do quite well for themselves since there were fewer men to share the profits and the loot could be speedily and profitably disposed of on the London market. Some of the goods involved were worth a great deal of money. In May 1613, Jonas Prophet, a Suffolk mariner, returned to London with some other sailors

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1 H.C.A. 1/6/114; 13/98/83-5: 25 August 1613. A more unusual case was that of William Staffe, the master of the John of Chenton. His ketch was taken by a dozen pirates at Barking Creek on the night of 20 December 1615 and used to attack the Sea Rider of St. Omer at Queenborough. Staffe joined the pirates and the paradoxical situation arose whereby three of his accomplices in one piracy were also charged with piracy on his ketch. (H.C.A. 1/6/165, 168; 1/48/83-5: 10, 16 April 1616.)

after serving in Elizabeth's convoy to Flushing. They made their way overland to Colchester where they hired a ketch, ostensibly to go to Harwich to seek employment in the Newcastle trade. They first robbed a Flemish hoy of butter and cheese at Leigh and then made their way to the North Foreland, where they captured the Nightingale of Middelburg, which was riding at anchor with a cargo of cloth, silk, madder and Brazil-wood worth £3,000. After keeping their prize for a day, the pirates released her on payment of a £500 ransom in gold and silver and went ashore and separated. Nine men were indicted for this piracy, but only Prophet and two of his followers were ever arraigned, and even then Prophet succeeded in escaping from the Marshalsea.[1]

One of the greatest attractions of riverside piracy was the unlikli-hood of being detected. The pirates often made their attacks at night, or during the long dark evenings of the English winter, when the few crew members who remained on board could be quickly overpowered and stowed beneath the hatches. Lawrence Tatum, the master of the James of London, testified how, on 1 January 1624, a dozen or more men stole aboard his ship which was lying at Blackwall,

> ... who entred the said shippe in the darcke and presently masked and covered the faces of this examinant's men then aboard the said shippe that they coulde not discerne them to take any notice of them.[2]

Some pirates made doubly sure of concealing their identity by blacking their faces with powder or by donning false beards and visors - one man even went robbing encased in an iron skull.[3]

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1 H.C.A. 1/6/97; 13/98/54, 112-3: 8 June , 1 October 1613.

2 H.C.A. 1/49/180: 13 January 1624. These pirates escaped with a pack of cloth, a case of taffeta and half a bale of silk, worth £100. Only two of them were ever brought to justice. Rombolt Jacobs, a Dutch Merchant Stranger, who was part-owner of these goods suffered particularly heavy losses on the Thames. Four years earlier, two boxes of musk worth £300 belonging to him had been taken out of the Bonadventure of Dieppe near Erith (H.C.A. 1/7/20, 33).

3 H.C.A. 1/48/298: 2 March 1620; 13/97/181: 25 August 1608; 13/98/177: 13 March 1614.

The metropolis provided a perfect cover for the pirates' activities. The riverside inns were ideal haunts for enlisting recruits and laying plans. Sometimes the atmosphere was a little too convivial. Garret Scottle and some acquaintances boarded a wherry after a heavy drinking bout in a tavern at Limehouse and set off downstream. Between Greenwich and Deptford they robbed a hoy of Milton of £50 in English and Spanish coin and then fled ashore, but Scottle was soon caught and paid for his offence with his life.[1] Most pirates planned their robberies more carefully, and then, after a few profitable days, they could retire to the anonymity of the riverside settlements and lay low at the houses of their friends and accomplices. There were innumerable opportunities for getting rid of stolen goods in the city. Between 1603 and 1640 receivers and harbourers of Thameside pirates were indicted in connection with only six crimes,[2] and yet the names of many more offenders were known to the court. At night on 15 January 1615, the Elephant of Flushing, which was anchored at Leigh, was spoiled of a case and a bale of silk worth £450 and of three trunks containing gold chains and silver and pearl spoons valued at £200. The admiralty officials drew up a list of the accessories to this piracy, but none were ever indicted.[3] Women often played an important part in the disposal of pirate loot. Out of seventeen harbourers and receivers indicted during the period seven were women.[4] Perhaps the court took a lenient view of the crimes

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1 H.C.A. 1/5/200; 13/97/100: 24 December 1607.

2 H.C.A. 1/7/11, 20, 86, 89, 102, 145.

3 H.C.A. 1/6/150, 155.

4 Catherine Shepherd alias Sutton, Dorothy Cooper and Joan Parks were indicted as accessories to a piracy on the Gift of God of Calais in 1619. (H.C.A. 1/7/11. This document is badly mutilated. See also 1/7/2, 4). Jane Francis, Joan Harris, Elizabeth Patrickson and Mary Persival were indicted as accessories to a piracy on the Fortune of Queenborough in 1634 but they were all acquitted (H.C.A. 1/7/102, 111).

of the fair sex, but more likely accessories escaped indictment because it was difficult to prove that they had known the goods to be stolen. Juries even seem to have been reluctant to convict the few offenders who were brought to trial. William Van Dongen, a perfumier of the Strand, was cleared of receiving a pound of musk taken out of the Bonadventure of Dieppe at Erith in 1619,[1] and Giles Pensfoot, a goldsmith of St. Catherines, was acquitted of two charges of receiving silver plate out of the Magdalene of Dieppe and the Blessing of Sandwich, which were both plundered in the river in March 1633.[2] In 1634, after a piracy on the Fortune of Queenborough at Erith, five accessories were indicted but they were all found not guilty.[3]

Many pirates led long and successful careers on the Thames. Yet the real names of some of the most persistent offenders remain obscure because these men often operated under colourful pseudonyms. One such was Black Will, who may have served under Sockwell in the Atlantic in 1608,[4] but who was never indicted and whose only recorded exploits in the Thames occurred in 1620. On 31 January, Robert Smith, a waterman, told how a band of sailors led by Black Will, who was dressed in a black cloth suit, had forced him to row them down river from Limehouse. After an abortive attack on two Ipswich hoys at Tilbury, the pirates succeeded in capturing a hoy laden with wood at Hole haven, and the next day, after spending the night in a sheephouse, they took a 'hebberman' of Greenwich and a French vessel, which they kept in their possession.

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1 H.C.A. 1/7/20.

2 H.C.A. 1/7/86, 89.

3 H.C.A. 1/7/102, 111.

4 A Black Will is mentioned as masters? mate in Sockwell's pirate ship the St. Jacob of Hamburg, which captured a Portuguese carvel on 31 August 1608 near Madeira. His share of the loot was said to be £335 (H.C.A. 13/97/261: 28 December 1608).

Near Winterton the pirates transferred into a French bark, with money, tobacco and sixty pieces of fustian from their first French prize. Finally they took a Yarmouth boat which they released on composition with the skipper and then returned to the Thames in the French bark and got ashore with their plunder.[1] Soon after this, things became too dangerous for Will and he was forced to leave London, although he bragged that there were a hundred of his men waiting to join him. His notoriety was confirmed by Daniel Lilliston, who testified that his fishing trawler had been taken at Holehaven in June 1620 by four pirates who had used it to capture a 'shotter' of Deal near the North Foreland and who had then sailed off. He told the court that:

> ... the Captain of them was called Will, a blacke fellowe with longe haire, who saied hee knewe hee shoulde never bee taken for hee had used that trade allmoste these twentie yeares and had often beene in and out in the Marshallseas ...[2]

Richard Catro, a sailor from the Isle of Thanet, enjoyed a lengthy career of piracy on the Thames, where he was known as Dick of Dover. He was examined in the admiralty court in December 1613, after a Dick of Dover had been named as one of the accomplices of Thomas Brooker in the piracy on the Cock of Haarlem and other vessels in August. Catro said he had been employed in the fleet which ferried Elizabeth over to Flushing, but denied that he was known as Dick of Dover.[3] He was freed, but in 1619 he 'made a match' in the 'Three Tons' in Ratcliffe and led a band of pirates down river from Wapping in a hoy. At Tilbury Hope they plundered the Gift of God of Calais of her cargo of cloth and returned with their loot in two wherries to Ratcliffe.[4] Catro was arraigned as

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1 H.C.A. 1/48/288-9: 31 January 1620.

2 H.C.A. 1/48/328-9: 4 July 1620.

3 H.C.A. 13/98/85-6, 156: 27 August, 22 December 1613.

4 H.C.A. 1/7/11; 1/48/223: 8 March 1619. The goods stolen from the Gift of God were twenty-seven dyed northern kersies (£54), five dyed Pennistone cloths (£12.10.0), twenty Devonshire dozens (£60) and twenty-three cloth cloaks (£20), belonging to Peter Mitton and John Stevens, London merchants (H.C.A. 1/7/11). Between 1613 and 1619 Catro may have been employed in Lord Zouch's ships (H.C.A. 1/48/228: 17 March 1619).

Dick of Dover and was condemned to death for this piracy.[1] However, sentence may not have been carried out, or someone else may have adopted his nickname , for in October 1620, a Dick of Dover was one of a dozen men who boarded the Primrose of Ipswich at Long Reach and then used her to plunder the Susan of Ipswich and a Flemish pink at Tilbury Hope.[2]

Since there was little nautical skill needed to rob ships on the Thames, landlubbers were likely to be drawn into piracy. For example, a Whitechapel labourer, a Southwark shoemaker and an Eastsmithfield silkweaver were indicted for robbing the Marigold of London of £60 in cloth at night on the 31 October 1637.[3] However, the majority of Thameside pirates were to be found among the sailors and watermen who lodged in the rapidly expanding settlements of St. Catherine's, Wapping, Ratcliffe, Shadwell and Limehouse to the east of the city, where they were within striking distance of the rich prizes which were to be found downstream in the docks or in the road at Gravesend. During the winter this shiftless seafaring population was swollen by sailors from the kings' ships. It has already been seen that several of the sailors who served in the fleet which sailed to Flushing in 1613, took to piracy on their return to London, and piracy was no less attractive to seamen who faced years of hard service aboard merchantmen. In 1617, thirteen pirates who seized a hoy at Purfleet, were from the crew of the East India Company's ship, the New Year's Gift.[4]

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1 H.C.A. 1/7/2.

2 H.C.A. 1/48/345: 27 October 1620. No one was indicted for this crime. The pirates got ashore at Greenwich with money, pewter, stockings, cloth and other booty, after making some gifts to the master of the Primrose, whom they swore to secrecy.

3 H.C.A. 1/7/149.

4 H.C.A. 1/48/122-3: 14 February 1617.

Most Thameside pirates either returned to the city or else ventured briefly out of the mouth of the river in an effort to increase their profits before coming ashore with their loot. In his Discourse, Mainwaring stated that many deep-sea pirates had began their careers by boarding small vessels at Gravesend, Tilbury Hope or Queenborough,[1] but if this is true, it is surprising that only one example should have survived, especially when Thameside piracy is comparatively well-documented. In 1613, Jonas Prophet was sentenced to death for a piracy on the Nightingale of Middleburg off the North Foreland. However, by October he had escaped from the Marshalsea and soon afterwards he took a small bark of King's Lynn in the Thames. In the River Colne, he pressed two boys into his service, and then setting sail from Colchester with a crew of ten, he eventually arrived at Mamora, where he sold the bark and its lading of groceries to a Spaniard and became master of Captain Wilkinson's pirate ship.[2] William Blackford, a Colchester sailor who went to Mamora with Prophet, was also wanted in London for piracy, and had been indicted for a spoil on the Croysant of Toucques at the Isle of Thanet on 17 September 1613.[3] Perhaps the curious spectacle of these riverside pirates sailing from the Thames to Morocco in a small bark impressed itself on Mainwaring's mind and was responsible for his belief that the Thames was an important breeding ground for ocean-going pirates.

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1 Mainwaring, Life and Works, II. 15.

2 H.C.A. 13/98/190, 199: 23 May, 28 June 1614. After the fall of Mamora, Prophet became master to Captain Ford in the Angel Gabriel of Hamburg, captured on 27 October 1614 (H.C.A. 1/48/22: 7 January 1615).

3 H.C.A. 1/6/117. Some of Prophet's accomplices in the Thames were William Sayers, who was also indicted for piracy against the Croysant, John Burns alias Brusle, a Dutchman, and 'Simon the King' (H.C.A. 13/98/154: 20 December 1613). Apart from Robert Prior and Daniel Dun (the two boys taken at Colchester), only John Sayers is mentioned by name as having arrived at Mamora with Prophet and Blackford (H.C.A. 13/98/190: 23 May 1614).

The Thames was not, it seems, a nursery for deep-sea pirates, but it accommodated many who had recently forsaken their careers in the Ocean. Many old offenders who returned to England or Ireland to receive their pardons soon found their way to London, where they were unable to resist reverting to their old ways. William Hare, a Plymouth mariner, was brought before the court in May 1613 and examined on suspicion of carrying muskets and shot for a man called Fleming and for some other friends who intended to leave Gravesend in a smack to do 'some exploit.' Hare said that he had been taken out of the True Love of London in April 1612 and had been forced to serve Captain Baugh until the latter came to Ireland in June to receive his pardon.[1] Nothing was proved against Hare at this time and he was released. However, he was brought before the court again on 20 December 1613, charged with spoiling the Thomas of Ipswich while she was at anchor at Limehouse two weeks earlier, and under examination, he confessed that he had also been involved in a piracy on the Hound of Ipswich at Purfleet on 5 September 1612.[2] Thus Hare had returned to piracy almost as soon as he had received his pardon, and persisted in his ways even though he was under grave suspicion. It also seems probable that John Finch and Thomas Ford, who were indicted with him for the piracy on the Thomas, are the same men who had entered Villefranche with Peter Easton earlier in 1613.[3]

The migration of deep-sea pirates to London added a new dimension to riverside piracy for a while, since these men were more ambitious and were not content to confine their depredations to the river. Early in 1616, David Beton, the owner and master of the African of London, victualled and trimmed his ship at Shadwell in preparation for a whaling voyage. One witness testified that due to the intrigues of John Stokes and Leonard Skleter, two of the crew, the African was surprised as she

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1 H.C.A. 13/98/47-8: 4 May 1613.

2 H.C.A. 1/6/84, 149; 13/98/154: 20 December 1613.

3 ; H.C.A. 1/6/149; 13/98/62: 14 June 1613. Hare, Ford and Edward Jennings were condemned to death for this piracy, but Finch was acquitted.

was about to sail from Gravesend by thirty-five of Mainwaring's men who were then in London awaiting their pardon. However, it seems likely that the pirates boarded the ship with the connivance of Beton, since John Goodridge, one of Mainwaring's old crew, refused to sail with them as he suspected that they intended to go roving. At any rate, Beton was indicted for the piracy committed by his ship. The African put to sea, and on 24 February 1616 encountered the Prodigal Son of Amsterdam, bound for London from Rouen, lying at anchor off the North Foreland. The pirates took this ship by means of a well-armed boarding-party of a dozen men. Then the two vessels were tied together while the pirates broke open the hatches and cut up the packs of Normandy cloth and canvas so that they could be manhandled aboard the African. Although they were forced to break off their looting because of the presence of other ships in the vicinity, Beton and Mainwaring's old hands still got away with goods worth £375.[1]

Some of the pirates who plundered the Prodigal Son did not return immediately to London, but instead went roving on the west coast. In September 1616, Leonard Preston, a Totnes sailor, and Samuel Jenkins, a London mariner who had served Mainwaring, were named as the captain and master of a band of pirates who plundered the Margaret of Chester as she was sailing to Dublin.[2] Early the following year, Jenkins was back in London, where he narrowly escaped arrest,[3] but in June 1618, after sailing with Raleigh, he again returned to piracy, this time as master of a bark manned by fourteen men, which subsequemtly captured the Mayflower of London off the Lizard. The pirates made their way back to London, plundering several vessels along the south coast and finally

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1 H.C.A. 1/6/176; 1/48/76-8, 89: 14 March, 26 April 1616.

2 H.C.A. 1/48/123: 14 February 1617.

3 H.C.A. 1/48/127-8: 21 March 1617.

robbing a French bark of a hogshead of vinegar at Leigh.[1] Thus, in the case of Samuel Jenkins, the Thames seems to have served as a winter retreat, from which he could continue his periodical marauding round the English coast.

For one famous pirate captain, James Haggerston, piracy on the Thames probably provided the best alternative when his career in the Ocean had ended. He first appears as a pirate of note when he ran away from Captain Woodland in the Fortune, but this ship was recaptured near the Azores by Captain Tucker, one of Woodland's followers, and Haggerston was put ashore at Flamborough Head. Somehow he managed to return to piracy, for in the summer of 1615 he was the captain of one of six Algerine vessels which captured the Susan Constance of London between Cadiz and San Lucar.[2] Haggerston left Algiers in 1617 and arrived in London, anxious to escape to Holland. He had promised William Mortimer, a Barking fisherman whose wife was a relative of his, that he would never return to England, provided that Mortimer would lend him his ketch to take a ship in the Thames. Thus it came about that Haggerston went down river from Barking Creek with fourteen men, and after spoiling several vessels in the river, sailed to the Irish coast and was captured by the king's pinnace the Moon, and forced to go on Raleigh's ill-fated expedition.[3] Late in 1618, Haggerston was at Waterford, where he once

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1 H.C.A. 1/48/172, 178: 1 July, 5 September 1618. At Salcombe they took a bark which they made their man-of-war. Then, off the Isle of Wight, they plundered a French bark and near Chichester they spoiled the Mayflower of Dover.

2 H.C.A. 1/48/53, 67: 22 July 1615, 29 January 1616.

3 H.C.A. 1/48/166, 171: 7 March, 8 June 1618. They took a Flemish vessel at the Redsand and then transferred into a French collier which they used to rob another Frenchman of some wine at the 'Lands End' (the North Foreland?). They then freed the Flemish ship and allowed Mortimer to return home in his ketch.

more made known his intention to go to the Low Countries - this time to marry a captain's widow and to gain command of a Dutch warship. He travelled to London and in February 1619 he again went down river in a wherry and joining up with at least fourteen men at Tilbury, he took a ketch and captured a Dutch hoy laden with beer and aqua vitae. He and his company then spoiled an English ketch, a 'stowboat' called the Judith of Rochester, as well as a Dover bark, before going ashore near Rochester with goods and money worth about £100. At least five of Haggerston's men are to be found with Dick of Dover the following month at the spoil on the Gift of God.[1] Haggerston, however, was not with them, and he may have finally left for Holland. Like so many other pirates who were active on the river, he never paid for his crimes.

Although piracy in English waters appears to have ceased during the war years 1625-9, it reappeared soon afterwards and was to continue almost as strongly under Charles as it had under James. Between 1629 and 1640, indictments were drawn up for twenty-nine acts, of piracy, eighteen of which occurred on the Thames.[2] Apparently Charles' personal rule had little effect in curbing pilfering in his own capital. The chances of surprising a ship with a rich cargo were still as good as ever. On 11 March 1633, Henry Robinson, a Plymouth navigator, John Twirle alias Toodle, another navigator from Shadwell, and William Mannington alias Swanley, a Wapping waterman, went down river in two wherries with six other men, and that night, at Long Reach, they boarded the Blessing of Sandwich and looted her of Dutch and English silver plate. Later that month, Mannington brought news to Twirle's house in Shadwell of a likely bark which was at anchor in the Thames. Accordingly the pirates arranged for a hoyman to pick them up at Limehouse,

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1 H.C.A. 1/7/9, 10 (both indictments are almost illegible); 1/48/221-3: 8 March 1619. John Pickle, London, gent., John Beere alias Waters, Ratcliffe, sailor, John Mason, London, sailor, Nicholas Peerson, King's Lynn, sailor and William Farecloth, London, yeoman were members of Catro's band (H.C.A. 1/7/11).

2 See appendix I(a).

and on the night of 28 March they boarded the Magdalene of Dieppe at Halfway Tree and escaped with some fine millinery and two exquisite agate cups set in gold, one in the shape of a boat and the other inset with forty-three pearls and precious stones. The French crew was in a position to resist the pirates, who were only armed with swords and cudgels, but instead they gave way to threats.[1] Even the ships in the Thames carrying the personal property of the aristocracy were not immune from such attacks. On the night of 2 January 1637 for example, the James of Dover, lying at Limehouse, was spoiled of an amber cabinet as well as some fine plate and other items, belonging to Thomas, earl of Arundel.[2]

The only deterrent to this form of piracy was the navy, which had the responsibility for patrolling the Thames as well as the sea. Only one pinnace or ketch was usually deployed to range the whole river, and not surprisingly, the royal ships needed considerable luck to catch any offenders. On the evening of 18 December 1629, Henry Joane and a

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1 H.C.A. 1/7/86, 87, 89; 1/49/98-100: 8 April 1633. The total value of the booty from the Magdalene was given as £189. The silver plate stolen from the Blessing, much of it double gilted, was listed as a 'standing cup' with a statue of Cupid on it, a piece of plate with a statue of Fortune on the top, a cup, two challices, a salt cellar, a beer bowl marked H.H., a 'casting bottle' with hook and chain, a tankard and a chamber pot. Robinson said that his accomplices had run off with most of the loot from these two ships.

2 H.C.A. 1/7/145. This indictment is in a bad state of preservation. The booty included an amber cabinet (£80), a gilt basin and ewer weighing forty ounces (£13), four gilt cups weighing sixty ounces (£15), another gilt cup (£2), besides six silver forks and some silk. The total value of goods in the indictment is at least £120, but it was probably considerably more, since a box of musk, two watches and two precious stones were also stolen (H.C.A. 1/50/70: 11 January 1637).

band of sailors in two wherries boarded the Angel of Halstow near Tilbury Hope, intending to carry her to sea. The pirates had not been in possession of their prize for an hour before they were surprised and taken by the king's ketch.[1] Yet this was an isolated success. All the advantages in the Thames lay with the pirates. They could choose the time and place for their attack and get ashore before the spoil was even discovered. Thus riverside piracy continued unabated, much to the irritation of the Lords of the Admiralty, who were unsympathetic towards the problems which faced naval captains in the river. On 27 September 1633, they wrote to Captain Coke, upbraiding him for his ineffectual action in stemming the 'dayly pilfrings and insolencies comitted in the Ryvers of Thamise and Medway, by pyrattes, pickerons and pettie men of warre.'[2] Yet no solution was found to Thameside piracy and it remained a problem until as late as the nineteenth century.

Very little evidence has survived to support Moore's belief that, in proportion, there was probably just as much piractical activity in the rivers and outports of the kingdom as there was in the Thames. There are some indications of piracy around Bristol, the second largest port in the realm. It was probably in response to Easton's presence in the Kingroad in February 1610 that letters patent were sent to the Lord high admiral on 20 March, authorising him to issue a commission to the earl of Bath and the mayor and aldermen of Barnstaple to send out ships to combat piracy in local waters.[3] However, no repressive measures were taken that year. In 1611 Nottingham apparently granted another commission to Henry Mainwaring (in response to a piracy committed in

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1 H.C.A. 1/7/66; 1/49/119: 7 April 1630.

2 S.P. 16/228/81.

3 C.S.P. Dom. 1603-10, p.593. A commission was granted to Barnstaple on 4 April 1610 and any profits were to be shared with the lord admiral (H.C.A. 14/40/150).

December 1610) to capture pirate ships in the Kingroad.[1]

Small-time pirates continued to harass shipping in the Bristol Channel after 1610. In 1612, the mayor and aldermen of Barnstaple finally acted on their commission and sent the John of Braunton and the bark Mayflower in pursuit of some rovers who were lurking at the mouth of the Channel and sheltering under Lundy Island.[2] In the same year, the Merchant Venturers of Bristol, who had given a small contribution towards Barnstaple's efforts, fitted out the Concord and True Love to go in search of pirates.[3] Both these expeditions met with some success. The Barnstaple ships captured four men, 'as notorious Rogues as any in England', who had robbed a London ship and a pinnace of the Isle of

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1 S.P. 14/66/107, October [?] 1611. Mainwaring was awarded the commission in competition with Bristol merchants and some Frenchmen. Although Nottingham personally approved the cause of the Bristol merchants, four days later his secretary informed them that the commission had been granted to Mainwaring. I can find no record of any such commission amongst the exemplifications of the court, although one was granted to Bristol on 16 November 1613 (H.C.A. 14/41/99), and perhaps earlier, for Bristol sent out ships against pirates from 1612-14 (infra, p.189).

2 Richard W. Cotton, 'An Expedition against Pirates', Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association, vol. XVII (1886), pp. 184, 190-1. The John was manned by forty-two men and the Mayflower by twenty-six.

3 Records Relating to the Society of Merchant Venturers of the City of Bristol in the Seventeenth Century, ed. Patrick McGrath, (Bristol Record Society, vol. XVII, 1952), p. 177.

Wight in the road at Lundy. These men were sent to Exeter for trial, but only their gaol deliveries have survived.[1] The Bristol expedition was even more successful. In November 1612, twelve pirates were lodged in Newgate gaol in Bristol, and in February 1613 they were sent to London for trial.[2] In the following years, Bristol assumed the burden of clearing the Channel of pirates. In 1613, the Amity, James, Mathew and White Angel were sent out, and in 1614, three more ships put to sea to clear the coasts, Barnstaple bearing only one quarter of the cost.[3] However, the private peace-keeping forces of the Severn do not appear to have captured any more pirates after 1612, and from 1614 onwards the task of defending the western coast and the Bristol Channel was left to Sir Thomas Button, captain of the king's ship Phoenix. English pirates cannot have troubled Bristol for very long. In 1619, the Merchant Venturers sent a glowing testimonial to the Privy Council,

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1 Cotton, op. cit., p. 196, mayor and aldermen of Barnstaple to the J.P.s of western Cornwall, 31 September 1612. The pirates who were captured were John Seath, alias Finch, Thomas Peryman, Thomas Smith and John Hore.

2 Bristol Archives Dept., 'Common Council Proceedings, 1608-27', pp. 30, 32. Although these men were brought to London I can find no trace of their trial (supra, pp. 24,25 n.1).

3 Records Relating to the Society of Merchant Venturers, ed. McGrath, pp. 177-8. The expeditions of 1612 and 1613 cost the Merchant Venturers £172 and £170 respectively. The estimated cost of the 1614 expedition was £200, of which Barnstaple was to pay £50. In 1621, the Venturers, seeking parliamentary confirmation of their charter, claimed that they had disbursed more than £500 since James' accession for the suppression of pirates 'infesting all men trading within Seaverne'. (Ibid., p.9.)

commending Button for freeing the Bristol Channel of pirates[1] and in April 1623, the mayor and aldermen of Bristol wrote to Button in person, thanking him for his services and stating that the Severn and the Irish coast had been free of pirates for the past five years.[2]

Thus, at the time when Haggerston, Dick of Dover and Black Will were harassing shipping in the Thames, the second largest port in England was free of such troubles. Even when cases of piracy in the outports have survived, they can sometimes be shown to be connected with the flourishing business of piracy in London. In September 1619, eight men hired the services of a skuller at Newcastle and forced him to take them to sea. At Sunderland they took two small fishing boats and then boarded a bark of Scarborough and sailed to Burlington, where they captured the Dragon of King's Lynn, 50 tons, laden with hops and kersies. They sailed south in this and after taking a small bark at Harwich they went ashore with their loot at Tilbury and Holehaven. The interesting fact about this piracy, which originated in Newcastle, is that one of the crew, Nicholas Peerson, a sailor from King's Lynn, was the same man who earlier in the year, had been arraigned in London in connection with piracies committed by both Haggerston and Dick of Dover. At his examination he had denied knowing Haggerston, and although he admitted being with Dick of Dover, he was acquitted after he claimed that he had only gone along with him to get a passage to Holland from Gravesend.[3]

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1 P.V. McGrath, 'The Merchant Venturers and Bristol Shipping in the Early Seventeenth Century', Mariner's Mirror, vol. XXXVI, (1950), p.71.

2 Records Relating to the Society of Merchant Venturers, ed. McGrath, p. 187.

3 H.C.A. 1/7/9-11; 1/48/233, 252-3: 14 April, 25 September 1619. Bonner was another of the pirates with Peerson. He may perhaps be identified with Thomas Bonner, a London mariner, who was one of the band who stole a clinker boat from the Thames in the summer of 1614 and turned to piracy on the east coast (H.C.A. 1/6/151-2).

After the end of the war with Spain in 1604, pirates were encouraged by the support which they received from accomplices on land to use the ports of the south-west. In his study of Cornish piracy, David Mathew concluded that piracy died out towards the end of Elizabeth's reign when it was no longer supported by important coastal families such as the Killigrews.[1] Yet, in the early years of James' reign, pirates frequented the south-west more than ever. Many English seamen, having committed piracies under the guise of serving Dutch commissions, used the ports of England to man and victual their ships and to dispose of their booty. In May 1605, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, writing from Plymouth Fort, informed Salisbury of:

> ... the daily outrages and enormities committed upon the coast by pirates of our own nation, under pretext of commission of those of the Low Countries, who do by their misdemenour much scandalize our nation and impeach the trade of honest merchants: the which courses might easily be prevented if authority were given to any that knew what to do and would be careful of their duties and licensed to exercise their best means for prevention thereof.[2]

The crux of the problem was the willingness of the admiralty officers in Devon and Cornwall to seize what booty they could for themselves without arresting the offenders or enquiring too deeply into the offence. This was glaringly apparent in the piracy on the Jonas of Embden. Early in 1605, the Jonas was riding under the protection of Cowes castle with a cargo of cottons, lawns, says and cambrics worth £10,000.[3] Nearby lay Captain Muckill's ship, the Mary Catherine, 50 tons, manned by thirty-four Englishmen and a handful of Dutch, and the Lewen, a Dutch vessel under the command of Andreas Franson, which was blockading a Dunkirker in Portsmouth. The two captains soon made a pact

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1 Mathew, E.H.R. XXXIX, (1924), p.348.

2 H.M.C. Salisbury, XVII. 210, 18 May.

3 H.C.A. 1/5/67.

to take the Jonas, but it was agreed that Muckill should do the deed on his own, since Franson, who was loath to attack one of his own countrymen, reasoned that:

> ... yt was all one which of them tooke her for that they were consortes, but ... yt was fitter that Captaine Muckle should take her, because he could not so easely be found out as he the said Franson should be, for that he served the Prince /of Orange/.[1]

Accordingly, at night on 20 January, Muckill and sixteen men in a long-boat stole aboard the Jonas, when most of her crew was ashore, and carried her off to Portsmouth, where the profits were divided with Franson.[2] Muckill then sailed to Cawsand Bay, where he opened up his prize for trade. Men flocked from nearby Plymouth to barter with the pirates without let or hindrance - not surprisingly perhaps, for amongst them were the servant of Sir Richard Hawkins, the vice-admiral of Devon, and Nicholas Cheeke, the searcher of the city, who was handsomely rewarded by Muckill for permitting the illegal traffic. From Cawsand Bay, Muckill moved along the coast to Helford, where, after bribing Francis Vivian, the son of the vice-admiral of Cornwall, he once again set up shop, many of the pirates travelling overland to Penryn to dispose of their loot. Muckill ended his leisurely progression at the Scilly Isles, where he was warmly received by John Godolphin, captain of the islands, who personally provided the pirates with victuals, powder and a main sail. 'For his kindnes there shewed', Goldolphin received £30 (some said as much as £300), besides which Muckill gave him a gilt clock worth £200 which was to be presented to Lord Mountjoy in London. The pirates were becalmed for three weeks in the Scillies during which time they were allowed to come and go as they pleased and to trade with the islanders,

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1 H.C.A. 1/46/161: 8 February 1605.

2 H.C.A. 13/97/154: 9 May 1608.

while their captain was entertained at Godolphin's table.[1]

It was in an effort to suppress such activities and to preserve English neutrality in the war between Spain and Holland that James issued two forceful proclamations in March and July 1605, which forbade English seamen from serving under Dutch commissions. Warships were not to be victualled in England and no goods were to be brought from pirates or privateers. In future, any English seamen who tried to disguise their activities by serving under Dutch letters of marque were to be treated as pirates. However, the proclamations were ineffectual because they relied for their effect on enforcement by the coastal officers, who in fact continued in their old ways. English seamen could still serve the Dutch without fear of arrest, and pirates could victual their ships in England and sell their booty ashore. If anything, the situation deteriorated still further. In November 1607, Salisbury wrote that:

> ... the continual practice of the English with the Hollanders is so visible as the whole nation grows scandalous by it; insomuch as I will not hide it from you that even from the Turk himself, the enemy of Christ, one part of his instructions to his Ambassador hither has been expressly to understand whether it be true that the world conceives, that piracy is here no sin.[2]

The full extent of corruption in the south-west was not finally exposed until 1608-9, when a full-scale enquiry was launched into admiralty affairs. Hannibal Vivian, who had been vice-admiral of south

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1 H.C.A. 1/46/188-9: 31 May 1605; 13/97/155-6, 213: 9 May, 28 September 1608. While they were at the Scillies, the pirates also traded with the Margaret and John of London, bound for Gallway with a cargo of beer. Francis Bayldon, the merchant factor of the ship gave Muckill more than five tuns of beer and forty-five gallons of aqua vitae, besides tobacco, hats and stockings, for which he received ready cash, four and a half hogsheads of brass hooks and eyes and some Flemish cloth. Bayddon was so avaricious that he ended up in debt to Muckill (H.C.A. 1/46/188: 31 May 1605). For the dealings of the crew of the Margaret and John see H.C.A. 1/46/199-200: 6 July 1605.

2 H.M.C. Salisbury, XIX. 310-11, Salisbury to Viscount Bindon, 1 November 1607.

Cornwall in the early years of James' reign, and William Restarrock, the vice-admiral of the northern part, were both arrested in 1609 to be questioned on oath.[1] The year before, Vivian's son Francis, who was by then vice-admiral in place of his father, had been examined in the admiralty court, and had admitted that he had boarded Muckill's ship and had later released some of the pirates on bail. He denied that he had received any goods from Muckill or that he had supplied him with powder and victuals. However, Gilbert Layton, Muckill's lieutenant, told the court that Francis had bought goods from the pirates, sent gunpowder to Muckill and had allowed him to sell his loot at Helford.[2] When questioned further on these points, Francis replied that he was not bound to answer, 'beinge against the rule of reason to accuse him selfe.'[3]

From the enquiry, Sir Richard Hawkins emerged as the greatest offender. He was directly implicated by his dealings with almost every pirate of note who had frequented the ports of Devon since James' accession. The main charge against him was that he had used his official position to pervert the course of justice. Pirates who were arrested within his vice-admiralty were rarely brought to trial. Hawkins simply took their loot and released them or sold them 'discharges' for their crimes on his own authority. Thus something approaching a perpetual amnesty for pirates existed in Devon. Once, after a pirate named John Payne had purchased a discharge for £40, it was noted that Hawkins also 'had an other dischard ge readie written with a blancke to put in the name of such as should be compounded withall.' A long list was drawn up of all the pirates who had been freed by Hawkins, and of the money and goods which

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1 H.C.A. 14/40/155. See below, p. 282.

2 H.C.A. 13/97/212: 28 September 1608.

3 H.C.A. 13/97/249: 2 December 1608

he had received at their hands.[1] Of course, since pirates were seen to go free and the vice-admiral to be making a profit, it is hardly surprising that many other men in the south-west trafficked with pirates in the knowledge that even if their activities were to be discovered, the vice-admiral would not instigate proceedings against them. Hawkin's exposure in fact brought the offences of many of these 'land-pirates' to light. As a result of the enquiry in the south-west, 150 aiders and abettors of pirates were brought to London to appear before the Privy Council.[2] Proceedings also went on apace in the country. In January 1609, piracy commissioners were appointed for a sessions of oyer and terminer at Helford 'by reason that many pirates have had recourse thither these 4 or 5 years past.'[3] Thus by 1609, the last and most powerful bastion of organised piracy in England was broken. The whole of the south-west was reeling from the results of the enquiry. Henceforward, pirates who came to England found life far more difficult, for they could expect little relief from accomplices ashore. The government had been alerted to the corruption of officials in the country, so that the risks of trafficking with pirates were far greater, now that officers were forced to act more conscientiously. The days when pirates such as Muckill could cruise along the coast openly trading with the inhabitants and making merry with the admiralty officers never came again.

The activities of English pirates in the harbours of the south-west were sporadic during the rest of James' reign. The treatment which the pirate John Nutt received at the hands of Sir John Eliot, the vice-admiral of Devon, is in marked contrast with the corruption which had characterised the administration of Eliot's predecessor, Sir Richard Hawkins. Nutt had turned to piracy in Newfoundland in August 1621, when

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1 Appendix. III.

2 B.M. Lansd. MS. 145, f.39, Randal to Caesar, 11 September 1609.

3 H.M.C. Salisbury, XXI. 10-11, Sir John Parker to Salisbury, 26 January 1609.

he spoiled several ships, but at the same time he had rendered valuable service by protecting the infant plantation which had been established by Sir Edward Wynne at Ferryland, under the direction of the secretary of state Sir George Calvert. In the summer of 1622, Nutt had approached Wynne for a pardon, which Calvert procured and sent to Newfoundland. It was dated 1 February 1623 and was valid for three months, but it never reached Nutt, and in May 1623 he arrived at Torbay and offered Sir John Eliot £500 if he would obtain one for him. The subsequent events are well-known. Nutt did not remain in Torbay for long, for, while still waiting for his pardon, he went out and plundered several small barks on the Devonshire coast and then, early in June, captured the Edward and John of Colchester, a rich prize laden with sugar. Soon after this, Eliot boarded Nutt's ship with a copy of the out-of-date pardon and induced him to surrender. The pirates came into Dartmouth on 7 June, but Eliot arrested them and seized their ship and goods. However, because of Calvert's influence with James, Nutt and his crew were pardoned on 28 August and were allowed to keep the loot which they had taken before 1 May. Eliot, who was imprisoned for his action by the Council exactly a month after he had arrested the pirates, obstinately refused to pay his gaol expenses, and was not released until December.[1]

There is no evidence to suggest that Eliot ever plotted with pirates- the only charges against him were made by Nutt himself. The pirate captain testified that he had only returned to piracy while awaiting his pardon because Eliot had sent him a letter informing him of a fleet of rich vessels in Dartmouth which he could plunder to pay for his pardon.[2] It is worth noting that Nutt was unable to produce Eliot's letter in court and that none of the ships which he plundered belonged to the fleet in Dartmouth. Eliot denied all these charges and said that he had laid

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1 The best accounts are Harold Hulme, The Life of Sir John Eliot, 1957; Mary Breese Fuller, 'Sir John Eliot and John Nutt, the pirate', Smith College Studies in History, vol. IV , no.2 (January 1919).

2 H.C.A. 1/49/196-8: 9 July 1623.

plans to capture the pirates and had done his best to persuade them to surrender.[1] The only damaging information against Eliot was given by Richard Randal, the deputy vice-admiral of Dartmouth, who had boarded Nutt's ship on Eliot's instructions and had told the pirates of the merchantmen then in port.[2] Sir Henry Marten, the admiralty judge who conducted the examinations, reported to the Council that Randal had confessed to using 'very improper' words to the pirates,[3] but that on the evidence he believed the information to have been let slip unintentionally by Randal, without Eliot's knowledge. Consequently, he submitted a favourable report to the Council concerning Eliot's activities. Indeed, Martin even interceded for Eliot's release from prison, on the grounds that:

> ... Eliot's deed was good, because though Nutt begged for a pardon, he never ceased to plunder till the day when Eliot gulled him with one which was out of date.[4]

The only real charge that can be levelled against Eliot is that he cheated the lord admiral of his legal droit in pirate booty.[5] He was not condemned for agreeing to receive £500 for obtaining the pardon and he protested that he intended to share his profits with the lord admiral - although this should not be taken too literally. The importance of the case is that it demonstrates an approach to piracy which was never apparent in the early years of James' reign. Eliot, like Hawkins, probably had his own pecuniary interests at heart, but he did not allow them to interfere with the course of justice in the way that Hawkins had done. Ultimately, he suffered only because he arrested

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1 H.C.A. 1/49/192-4: 24 July 1623.

2 H.C.A. 1/49/194-6: 22 July 1623.

3 C.S.P. Dom. 1623-5, p.29, 25 July 1623.

4 Ibid., p.44, Marten to Conway, 4 August 1623.

5 Hulme, op.cit., pp. 160-1. Eliot did not declare the true value of the booty which he had received to the admiralty. He was also in trouble with the merchants of the Edward and John for refusing to restore their goods until he had received his expenses.

a band of pirates who enjoyed the support of one of the most influential men in the land.

Once outside the Thames and the safety of London a pirate led a hazardous and miserable life, especially when he could not rely on the land for his supplies or for the disposal of his booty. The high seas could soon become a lonely and dangerous place for poorly-equipped marauders. In May 1616 Richard Miller led a band of about twenty men down river to go roving. After some initial success, the pirates left the Thames in a ketch and robbed a fishing boat of Aldeburgh of some victuals off the North Foreland. Undaunted, the fishermen armed a boat and attacked the pirates, and although they did not capture them, they succeeded in killing Miller. After escaping from the irate fishermen, the pirates took command of the John of Dover, only to be pursued by the king's ship the Advantage, which rounded up the offenders in the John and chased the others ashore and arrested them.[1]

Piracy around England was very small business. Some men only took to piracy through necessity when they were in a desperate situation. In 1618, Nicholas Scot and Richard Anloby, two Yorkshire sailors, found themselves stranded at St. Ives after returning from a West Indies voyage. In order to get home, they purchased a fifteen-ton bark for seventeen pounds worth of tobacco, and, together with a few other Yorkshiremen and some landlubbers, they set out for Hull. Off Orford Ness they came upon the Herring Maid of Anchusen, 100 tons, a Flemish ship which was lying at anchor, manned by only four men and a boy. Scot and Anloby were unable to miss such an opportunity, and attacked the Herring Maid, killing the master. Since their prize was in ballast, the only plunder which the pirates could take was forty-pieces of eight worth £16. Sinking their bark, they shipped into the Flemish vessel and continued towards Hull, but their success seems to have frightened rather than emboldened them, especially since some of them had been unwilling to become pirates in the first place. Having narrowly escaped capture by an

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1 H.C.A. 1/48/97-8: 30 May 1616.

Ipswich vessel, most of the pirates took fright and went ashore at Burlington. Scot and Anloby, left alone in the prize, hailed another Ipswich ship, and were handed over to the admiralty in London.[1]

Not all pirates were such amateurs as these two, but nevertheless no single rover appears to have enjoyed a career of any long duration in England. One who caused more disruption than most was Lawrence Mountain of Dover. On 24 October 1615 he was the captain of a French ship manned by about twenty English pirates, which captured the Centurion of Harwich off Cromer, as she was bound for London with a cargo of Newcastle coals. The pirates then sailed to the south coast, where Mountain, masquerading as a merchant, went ashore to try to sell some of the coal and buy some supplies. However, the pirates only narrowly escaped when they were discovered and fired at from one of the castles. Just outside Dartmouth, Mountain captured a Danish ship laden with deal boards, pitch and tar, and manned her with six of his men, but she ran aground at Exmouth and the crew was arrested. He then returned to the east coast and lay off Newcastle in order to intercept English and foreign shipping trading to the north. After spoiling several vessels, he took a good Scottish ship of about sixty-tons near Sunderland, on the 23 November, as she was returning from Bordeaux laden with wine. Deciding to make this his man-of-war, he sent five of his men to board the prize, but they deserted him and rowed towards the shore. Seeing this, he sent five more after them, but they followed suit and he was left with a crew of six. Seizing their chance, the Scots attacked the pirates, killed Mountain, and brought the remainder of his men into Hull to be sent to London for trial.[2]

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1 H.C.A. 1/48/172-4: 3, 6 July 1618.

2 H.C.A. 1/6/169-70; 1/48/62-4, 70-1: 9 September 1615, 6 March 1616. Two ships spoiled by Mountain were the Hope of London, from which he took tobacco, ship's tackle and 500 fish worth £40, and the Elephant of London, which was carrying linen cloth, yarn, sturgeon and eels (H.C.A. 1/48/65-7; 15, 22 December 1615). His crew was only indicted for two piracies.

The pirates who frequented the English coast were too weak to attack ships of any strength as their numbers rarely exceeded thirty and they carried little or no ordnance. As in the cases of Miller and Mountain, the hunter could easily become the hunted. They tended to operate mainly on the busy waters of the east coast where there were plenty of small vessels which they could master. The North-Sea fishermen and the Newcastle colliers, manned by only a handful of men, were easy prizes, and there were also other small coasting craft, both foreign and English. Sometimes the better-equipped or more foolhardy pirates ventured out to sea and even took prizes as far distant as Norway. John Johnson, a mariner from Redruth in Surrey, was one of these. After buying a small ship, he collected a crew in Devon and Cornwall and sailed up the Channel into the North Sea. Taking some victuals from a Yarmouth bark near Tynemouth, he sailed eastwards and on the 29 May 1612 captured a Dutch flyboat laden with sea-coal and tobacco worth £200. Transferring into this ship, Johnson and his followers reached the Norwegian coast, and on the same day they made prize of the Black Buck of Enkhuizen which was carrying £800 in Hungarian gold ducats and silver dollars. Johnson returned to England in his new prize and set most of his men ashore at Flamborough Head with their shares, leaving himself only eight men in the Black Buck. Those who landed were arrested in Hull and condemned in London, but Johnson himself was never arraigned.[1]

English pirates, who had never caused much disruption on their own coasts, probably suspended their operations altogether during the war.[2] Between 1625 and 1629, no indictments for piracy were drawn up by the admiralty. No doubt many who would have turned to piracy were absorbed by privateering, or else served in Charles' early naval expeditions. The

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1 H.C.A. 1/6/80-1; 1/47/309-10: 12 August 1612.

2 Supra, p.185.

names of several famous pirates appear in the warrants which were made out to issue letters of marque during the war. John Nutt of Limpston in Devon, who had been pardoned by James in 1623, was probably the same man who went to sea twice in 1627 as captain of the Mary Margaret of Topsham, 70 tons, and the London of London, 140 tons, and again in 1629 as captain of the Regard of Topsham, 200 tons. The names of several other captains associated with privateering ventures, such as John Ellis, Richard Gifford, James Duppa and Richard Lux, correspond with the names of men who had been involved in deep-sea piracy in James' reign.[1] Since only the captain or master of a privateer was named in the warrant to issue letters of marque, it is hardly surprising that few old pirates' names appear in the lists, but no doubt they took their chances with the rest. Certainly pirates were at a premium in wartime, and were perhaps more highly prized by the government than law-abiding seamen. In 1628, when a messenger was needed to land on the French coast to inform the people of La Rochelle that the English would return to aid them, Sir Henry Hungate advised Buckingham that:

> ... nobody would do better service in this action than that old arch-pirate Capt. Cary, whose quarter is at 'Gaiesend', and his fortunes more desperate than death.[2]

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1 The lists of warrants are in C.S.P. Dom. 1628-9, pp.285-309 and C.S.P. Dom. 1629-31, pp. 151-6. Warrants for Nutt issued 2 January, 30 June 1627, 9 June 1629; for Ellis 28 July 1626, 16 May, 20 December 1627; for Gifford 2 October 1625, 17 June 1626, 27 March, 28 April 1627; for Duppa 13 January 1626, 20 January, 4 September 1629; for Lux 1 December 1627. Sir William Hull who had been closely involved with the Atlantic pirates at Leamcon, sent out several privateers from that harbour during the war: 14 June 1626, 3 March, 3 May 1627, /13/ March 1629.

2 C.S.P. Dom. 1628-9, p.126, 24 May 1608. This man may be William Cary, a gentleman of Topsham Devon, who was in the Providence which captured a tartana with a cargo of 10,000 lb of Tobacco worth £3,000, near the Isle of Wight on 15 July 1622. (H.C.A. 1/7/44). He was probably serving a Dutch or French commission. The only Captain Cary I have been able to trace was William Cary, captain of the Amity, which took the Sampson near Lisbon on 6 February 1603 (H.C.A. 13/36/259-60: 1 July 1603). The government was probably unwilling to prosecute pirates who did not harm English ships. In 1627 after some men had taken a prize without letters of marque Lord Falkland wrote of one of the culprits: 'We did not like to convict him of piracy in these times when seamen are useful'. (C.S.P. Ir. 1625-32, p.249, lord deputy to Secretary Nicholas, 5 July 1627.)

As war with Spain and France drew to a close in 1629-30, a few privateers abused their commissions,[1] but, more important, some seamen resorted to outright piracy. Late in 1629, after peace had been madd with France, English pirates were reported to be adding to the dangers from Dunkirkers around Torbay.[2] However, any fears of a revival of piracy on the same scale as had taken place after the Elizabethan war proved unjustified. The only English pirates who caused any serious disruption after the war were Robert Nutt and his associates who were only active for a few years.

Robert Nutt, whom Mary Fuller confused with John Nutt,[3] was probably the same man who had been captain of three small privateers towards the end of the war.[4] In the first half of 1631, he and another pirate, Captain Downes, using Helford as their hideout, were leading the navy a merry chase on the south-west coast and were plundering English shipping.[5] In April 1631, after Downes had pillaged several vessels, the merchants of Exeter petitioned the Council for a commission to send ships out after the pirates, which would be paid for by all merchants trading between Southampton and Land's End.[6] That summer, Downes was captured

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1 E.g. the Dolphin of Shoreham, Captain Henry Wheeler, condemned at Cowes for spoiling a small bark of £600 between Wales and Ireland. /C.S.P. Dom. 1629-31, p.163, Petition of Edward Powell to Lords of Admiralty, (January 12) 1630./

2 Ibid., p.80, Nicholas Spicer to Nicholas, 19 October 1629.

3 Fuller, op.cit., pp.92-3.

4 Warrants were made out to issue letters of marque to him on 2 April 1627 as owner and captain of the Mary of London, 30 tons, 16 May 1627 as captain of the Trial of Dartmouth, 35 tons, and 4 June 1629 as captain of the Diamond of Dartmouth, 50 tons (C.S.P. Dom. 1628-9, pp. 294, 296; C.S.P. Dom. 1629-31, p.154).

5 C.S.P. Dom. 1629-31, p.510, Captain John Mennes to Lords of Admiralty, 16 February 1631, p.533, Mennes to /Nicholas/, 10 March 1631. Downes, who was a local man, had been victualled in Helford and had sold his booty there /H.C.A. 1/49/75: 24 March 1630 (?)/

6 C.S.P. Dom. 1631-3, p.28.

in the Isle of Man, but his men escaped, and taking a 300-ton merchantmen mounting twenty-six guns, they elected Robert Nutt as their captain.[1] Nutt and his followers continued to plague the western shores of Britain for two more years. In the summer of 1631, Morgan, Nutt's lieutenant, brought a sixty-ton prize into Pwllheli in Caernarvon, laden with linen and wines, which he traded with the locals. Four pirates were arrested, but with the convivance of some landsmen, most of the crew, including Morgan, escaped.[2] Despairing at the corruption he had witnessed in his vice-admiralty, John Griffiths wrote to London and soon received instructions to hold a sessions of oyer and terminer and to take criminal proceedings against accessories as well as pirates.[3] His subsequent actions cannot have been very effective, for when Nutt's 'vice-admiral', John Norman, came into Pwllheli in February 1633, the inhabitants were just as eager to traffic with the pirates and even helped them to pillage a ship in the harbour.[4] Nutt himself spent the last months of 1631 trimming his man-of-war in Ireland. Early the following year several of his men were arrested by Captain William Thomas at Ballinskelligs Bay, after they had run aground in one of Nutt's prizes, the St. Jago, which was laden with sugar from the Madeiras.[5] In the summer of 1632, Nutt

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1 Ibid., p.97, John Griffiths to Lords of Admiralty, 1 July 1631.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid., p.162, Griffiths to Lords of Admiralty, 7 October 1631, p.189, Sir Henry Marten to Griffiths 26 November 1631. The pirates were tried and convicted in North Wales.

4 C.S.P. Dom. 1633-4, pp. 84, 152, Griffiths to Lords of Admiralty, 3 June, 24 July 1633. Robert Roberts, a Bristol merchant, was a persistent offender. In 1631 he had carried the pirates' captain off on his horse.

5 C.S.P. Dom. 1631-3, p.293, James Dyer to Nicholas, 23 March 1632; H.C.A. 1/49/81: 13 June 1632. The pirates, who numbered seven, were brought to Bristol for examination but they may well have been released as having been pressed into piracy.

captured two ships near Dublin in sight of land, while Smyth, another of his 'vice-admirals' was at Lundy, threatening to disrupt shipping returning from St. James' Fair at Bristol.[1] Embarrassed by Nutt's success, Charles extended a pardon to him in March 1632,[2] but it proved unnecessary, for by the end of the year Nutt was reported to have been executed in Spain.[3] Norman remained to harass shipping the following year, when he committed 'daily spoils' on the Irish coast, but soon his man-of-war became rotten and he was later reported to have been lost at sea.[4] The depredations of Nutt and his band had an importance out of proportion to their numbers or strength. A schedule of their spoils, which has not survived, was handed in to the admiralty by Captain Thomas.[5] However, Nutt was more of an irritant than a threat. The real challenge to English shipping in the 1630's did not come from Charles' own subjects.

The wars with France and Spain were partly responsible for the declining importance of English piracy. However, even at their height the pirates' depredations had been ineffectual by comparison with those of foreign rovers who had begun to venture into British waters in the 1620's. The scavengers who terrorised the coasts of England in these years were the Dunkirkers, Biscayners and Turks. Although their activities are strictly outside the limits of this thesis, it is necessary to trace their depredations in British waters in the 1620's and 1630's in

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1 C.S.P. Ir. 1625-32, p.671, the Lords Justices to Privy Council, 23 July 1632; C.S.P. Dom. 1631-3, p.400, Plumleigh to Lords of Admiralty, 5 August 1632.

2 C.S.P. Dom. 1631-3, p.297, the king to Captains Thomas Ketleby and John Nutt.

3 Ibid., p.463, 22 December 1632. Nutt's master was captive in the king's ship Victory.

4 Ibid., p.564, Captain Dawtry Cooper to Lords of Admiralty, 9 March 1633; C.S.P. Dom. 1633-4, pp. 99, 127, Plumleigh to Nicholas, 15 June, 2 July 1633.

5 H.C.A. 1/49/81: 13 June 1632.

order to understand the change in attitude of the English maritime population towards piracy. It was only with the threat from these foreign pirates that the evils of piracy finally came home to roost. Underthese new conditions, the existence of English pirates on their own coast, which had always been precarious, was seriously threatened.

Technically speaking, Dunkirkers and Biscayners were privateers, sailing under Spanish letters of marque against the Dutch and other enemies of Spain. The Dunkirkers, as their name suggests, came mainly from the port of Dunkirk, although some were also fitted out at Nieuport. Biscayners came from the northern coast of Spain, especially San Sebastian. While these privateers kept within the limits of their commissions, or during the years when England and Spain were at war, they could not be guilty of piracy. In the long periods of peace, both James and Charles endeavoured to establish rules under which privateers of the warring nations were allowed to use English ports. As a result of this, England suffered from the excesses of both sides,[1] for her waters became a hunting-ground for Spanishand Dutch privateers. The continuation of the war inside England's mare clausum was not so much piracy as an affront to the king's sovereignty. However, during Charle s' reign, Spanish privateers became increasingly opportunist and spoiled English and foreign shipping whenever the chance arose. In 1634, after the capture of a bark of the Scilly Isles laden with cloth worth six or seven hundred pounds, Captain Pennington reported to the Lords of the Admiralty that Spanish privateers 'carry a fair show of honesty till they meet with a fit booty,

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1 English shipping suffered at the hands of the Dutch as well as the Spanish, e.g. H.C.A. 1/49/36, 171: 15 May, 12 June 1624. This may be a reflection of increased English trade to Spain and Flanders towards the end of James' reign.

which they presently snap, let it be what nation it will, which so soon as they have done they instantly get them home'.[1]

Despite the increasing numbers of unscrupulous privateers, the English government continued to pursue the role of a neutral, and kept its ports open for men-of-war of either side, until they had committed spoils - by which time it was too late to take any effective action. It was small consolation for an overworked Stuart naval captain to be told that 'it is no more offence to be a Biscayner than of any other nation'.[2] There was no such confusion over the Turks. Except for a brief period during the war when England needed an ally against Spain in North Africa, Sally men and Algerines, the most common Turkish visitors to British waters, were unhesitatingly treated as pirates.

It was not until foreign rovers began to come into British waters that 'pirate' became a word which invoked terror - especially in those who inhabited the coasts or who made a living from the sea. This new threat was clearly in evidence by 1625. In that year, the bishop of Ossory in Ireland wrote to the bishop of Armagh:

> In some of my former letters I have touched how dangerous it was for our merchants to traffic by reason of the multitude of pirates which are abroad, and such as never haunted our coast heretofore.[3]

It seems likely that during the period of Charles' personal rule there were more ships plundered in home waters than during any other period. Although no figures have survived at Dunkirk for prizes taken

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1 C.S.P. Dom. 1634-5, p.212, 20 September 1634.

2 Ibid., p.180, Lords of Admiralty to Pennington, 4 August 1634. The next year, Pennington wrote to the Lords that the problem 'is not wholly to be prevented if the King had a hundred men of war abroad, so long as they are suffered to lie to and again in his Majesty's seas, and likewise within his chambers, bays, roads and harbours, not only for succour against stress of weather, but to make sale of their goods, and obtain information.' (C.S.P. Dom. 1635, p.601, 28 December).

3 H.M.C. Franciscan MSS., p.80, 17 September.

during the first half of the century, some idea of the extent of the depredations can be gained from the fact that during the wars of 1656-8 and 1666-7, privateers sent out from Dunkirk amassed booty estimated at fifty-five million livres and took nearly 15,000 prisoners.[1] No conclusions can be drawn from these figures concerning the extent of depredations during Charles' reign, but it is evident from the State Papers that Turkish and Spanish privateers caused the government a great deal of worry during the period. In 1635, Captain Richard Plumleigh, speaking of the depredations of the Biscayners, wrote that:

> ... all St. Sebastians being sold is not able to make good the damages and wrongs.[2]

The Turks, like the Biscayners, mainly sought to plunder on the south-west coast. To the slave-based economy of Barbary, human prizes were just as valuable as any ships' cargo. It is difficult to underestimate the impact made on contemporaries by the numbers of English subjects who were carried off to slavery in North Africa. The Turks did not shrink from collecting their prisoners ashore. Sixty men, women and children were snatched from a church in Mount's Bay in 1625,[3] and in June 1631 occurred the infamous sack of Baltimore when over a hundred people were carried off to captivity.[4] England's shipping also suffered heavily from the incursions of Turkish rovers. On 2 September 1636, the merchants and ship-owners of Exeter, Plymouth, Barnstaple, Dartmouth, Weymouth, Melcomb Regis and Lyme Regis petitioned the Council for some remedy, complaining that:

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1 Vanderest, Histoire de Jean Bart et de sa Famille, Dunkirk, 1844, p.xvii.

2 C.S.P. Dom. 1635, p.554, Plumleigh to Charles, 12 December.

3 C.S.P. Dom. 1625-6, p.89, Sir James Perrot to William, earl of Pembroke, 25 August 1625.

4 C.S.P. Ir. 1625-32, p.617.

> In times past, only the pirates of Algiers sometimes came into the English and Irish channels, now the pirates of Sallee are become so numerous, strong and nimble in their ships, and are so well piloted into these channels by English and Irish captives (of whom they retain almost 2,000 in slavery), that both these channels are so full of them that petitioners dare not send their ships and goods to sea, seamen refuse to go, and fishermen refrain to take fish ...[1]

There was a tendency amongst contemporaries to exaggerate the threat from Turkish pirates. The coastal population became so neurotic that they imagined every vessel to be Turkish. In 1637, Sir Henry Mervin wrote that the west countrymen

> ... fancy the crescent in all colours, as they did last year by the King's ships which were employed for their safety, and fled from them, filling the country with acclamations of the Turks that chased them.[2]

Stuart naval captains were continually making reports of Turkish pirates, even if only to say that there were none. Nevertheless, for the first time, Englishmen knew what it was like to be the sufferers rather than the aggressors in matters of piracy. It was ironic that the west country, which had such a strong history of privateering and piracy should have borne the brunt of the damage. For many, it must have been the first time that piracy appeared as an unnecessary evil.

Foreign pirates succeeded in British waters where English maurauders had been ineffectual, because they had no need of English bases for support. While English pirates had been reduced to a furtive existence to avoid capture ashore, men-of-war from Dunkirk, Sally or San Sebastian could plunder on the coasts and then fall back to their own ports to re-equip,

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1 C.S.P. Dom. 1636-7, p. 111. In a similar undated petition it was stated that eighty-seven ships worth £96,700 had been lost in just a few years, and that 1,160 seamen were being held as slaves, together with 2,000 others taken in British ships (C.S.P. Dom. 1625-49, p.546). A more realistic estimate of losses dated 1636, states that four ships of Topsham and one ship of Dartmouth had been taken in course of trade towards the south and Newfoundland (H.M.C. Fifth Report, p.582).

2 C.S.P. Dom. 1636-7, p.407, Mervin to Lords of Admiralty, 31 January.

and sell their booty. Spanish pirates could even hope to find some support in Britain, especially in Catholic Ireland which had a history of piractical dealings.[1] The wholesale disposal of any cargo other than at its port of destination was generally a tell-tale sign that the goods had been pirated,[2] but if the plunder was bought from foreigners it could always be pleaded that it had been purchased in good faith, in the belief that it was legitimate prize. Sir William Hull, the vice-admiral of Munster, was a notorious offender in this respect, although he never suffered for his crimes. In 1625, Nicholas wrote of him that he was 'an encourager and countenancer of pirates. I hope to weary him of it.'[3] Since English pirates were more easily recognisable than foreign rovers, men trafficking with them could not hope to escape detection so easily and could not plead that they believed the goods to be lawful prize, since commissions were not issued to Englishmen in peacetime, and anyone engaged in foreign service was acting piratically.

The English were therefore no longer the chief practitioners of piracy. In the 1630's, the government accepted the obligation to protect trade against foreign pirates, but despite continual coastal patrols, ship-money fleets and Rainsborough's expedition to Sally,[4] very few pirate vessels

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1 Supra, p. 113 et seq.

2 C.S.P. Ir. 1625-32, p.177, Lord Falkland to Nicholas, 3 December 1626.

3 Ibid., p.182, Nicholas to [Falkland], 18 December 1626.

4 Rainsborough, at the head of six ships and two pinnaces manned by about a thousand men, blockaded the port of Old Sally and concluded an alliance with 'the Saint', the governor of New Sally, who laid seige to the port by land. The port was surrendered on 28 July 1637 and several hundred British prisoners were released. Rainsborough extracted a promise that the vessels of Sally would cease to plunder the English, but this promise was broken almost as soon as the English fleet departed. See Captain W.R. Chaplin, 'William Rainsborough (1587-1642) and his Associates of the Trinity House', Mariner's Mirror, vol. XXXI (1945), p.178 passim.

were captured.[1] The advantages which the men-of-war of Dunkirk and Sally enjoyed over the navy is comparable to the superiority which the English bertons had over Mediterranean vessels in the early years of the century. They were clean nimble ships, able to navigate shallow waters close inshore, and could outsail the king's ships except in very heavy seas. In 1636, Sir John Pennington wrote to the Lords of the Admiralty concerning the disparity between the royal ships and two Spanish privateers which had fallen into his hands:

> I conceive it may be advantageous for his Majesty's service to set out the Petite Mort of Dieppe, and the Swan of Flushing that I sent into Sandwich (which is a Dunkirk built and a rare goer) with the fleet: they may teach his Majesty's ships to go, or at leastwise there may be something observed from them that may be good for the future.[2]

There were few opportunities for the less scrupulous English seamen to serve in Turkish or Spanish ships after about 1620. By this time, English seamen had little left to teach the Turks and Moors of Barbary and Christians who were willing to serve in Turkish ships had to

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1 Even with regular patrols, the suppression of piracy was still a formidable task. In 1634 Captain Richard Plumleigh was expected to guard Ireland, Wales and Severn - 'above 400 leagues of water', with only two ships (C.S.P. Dom. 1634-5, p.202, Plumleigh to Cottington, 3 September 1634).

2 Select Naval Documents, ed. H.W. Hodges and E.A. Hughes, Cambridge, 1936, p.39. Pennington had only captured the Swan 'by an accident'. The Turkish men-of-war drove Plumleigh to distraction. On 16 September 1636, Strafford wrote to Coke that it was impossible for Plumleigh to do anything against the pirates, 'for these light Men of War go from him at Pleasure, and will not stick in his Sight to ravish his Majesty's Subjects'. (The Earl of Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches, ed. William Knowler, 2 vols., 1739, II. 34).

apostatise. A few had no difficulty in renouncing their religion or their country. Two such men were William Rompps, a Shropshire gunmaker, and Nicholas Moore, a Bridgewater sailor. Rompps was captured in the Mediterranean in January 1622 in the Marigold of London, and sailed on several voyages from Algiers - one of them under an English renegade captain. Moore was taken out of the Elizabeth of Waterford by Sally pirates late in 1624. He threw in his lot with his captors and joined Rompps and the band of Turkish pirates which took a Scottish ship laden with Canary wines off the Lizard on 2 December 1624. Rompps and Moore were to take the prize back to Algiers, but it was recaptured by the Eagle of Sandwich and the two pirates were brought to London to stand trial.[1]

There were thousands of Englishmen enslaved in North Africa in the 1620's and 1630's who would not apostatise or whom the Turks refused to allow to apostatise, and who went to sea as slaves in Turkish men-of-war. In so far as the Turks did use Christian renegades during this period, they appear to have been mostly Dutch or French.[2]

Just as few Englishmen are to be found in voluntary service in Turkish warships, so they rarely appear in the service of Dunkirkers and Biscayners. Although they had gone with a will to serve the Dutch after the end of the war with Spain in 1604, they do not appear to have been attracted by Spanish commissions in Charles' reign. No doubt many

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1 H.C.A. 1/7/49; 1/49/45-6: 31 January 1625. Rompps was sentenced to death.

2 The raid on Baltimore was led by Mathew Rice (reis?), a Dutch renegade (C.S.P. Ir. 1625-32, p.617). French relations with Sally were fairly cordial: after a treaty in 1636, the rovers were allowed to use French ports, and English prisoners were carried overland to Marseilles for convoy to Barbary. (C.S.P. Dom. 1635-6, p.183, Pennington to Coke, 24 January 1636; C.S.P. Ir. 1633-47, p. 144, lord deputy to Lords of the Admiralty, 18 January 1637.)

English seamen still saw the Spanish as their traditional enemy and shrank from serving them. Of course, there were exceptions. In 1631 some Englishmen were apprehended after the St. Mary Francis of San Sebastian, which had been plundering English and French shipping, had run aground in the Scillies. One of these pirates, John Roach, a sailor from Wexford, was tried in London and sentenced to death.[1] It seems to have been mostly Irish Catholics or inveterate pirates who were tempted to work for the Spanish. On 8 June 1625, six British subjects were executed at Cork for serving in a Dunkirker which had plundered shipping of several nations on the Irish coast. The captain of this pirate ship, Nathaniel Smith, was described as 'a desperate and insolent man, a good navigator, an obstinate Papist, and lives with his family in Dunkirk', while Mathew Gunter, one of the crew, was said to have been in prison nineteen times on charges of piracy.[2]

It is understandable that few seamen wanted to help Spanish and Turkish rovers to pillage their own countrymen on their own coasts. There were still opportunities for serving in Dutch privateers or in ships with commissions from La Rochelle (although the latter ceased after the city

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1 H.C.A. 1/7/75-7; C.S.P. Dom. 1631-3, p.66, 2 June 1631. Four other Englishmen who were in the ship with Roach do not appear to have stood trial.

2 C.S.P. Ir. 1625-32, p.17, Lord Coke, Sir Richard Aldworth and Sir Lawrence Parsons to Falkland, 13 June 1625.

was subdued in 1629).[1] Yet the inclination to sail under foreign letters of marque, which had been so prevalent in the first half of James' reign, had largely disappeared. Expanding trade brought England into increasing commercial competition with the Dutch, who were becoming almost as detested by the English as the Spaniards had been. There were plenty of berths in English warships - not only during the wars with France and Spain, but afterwards in the naval squadrons and ship-money fleets. But most important of all, foreign marauders had no need of English assistance. In terms of speed and stealth they had nothing to learn from Englishmen, and if pilots were needed for British waters, captives could always be forced to help.[2] England offered attractive pickings for foreign pirates,

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1 In December 1622, Captain Saleneuve, a privateer operating under letters of marque from La Rochelle, took a Hamburg ship of 180 tons with 22,000 ducats near the Isle of Wight. He brought his loot into Weymouth, where Mr. Sambrough, a local merchant, changed 7,270 ducats into gold for the pirates. Saleneuve's crew consisted of sixty English and a dozen French and Dutchmen (H.C.A. 1/49/205-6: 21 December 1622). After being held prisoner in Dublin for a year, Saleneuve was released (B.M. Harl. MS. 1581, f. 308, 29 February 1624), and subsequently served in the war as captain of several privateers (C.S.P. Dom. 1628-9, pp. 287, 300, 307; C.S.P. Dom. 1629-31, p.154).

2 It is interesting to note that some Turks who had sailed with Robert Nutt were reported to have made soundings of all the Irish harbours (C.S.P. Ir. 1625-32, p.675, Lords Justices and Council to Lords of Admiralty, 27 October 1632).

but there was no reason why they should share their profits with unreliable English opportunists.

Although piracy in home waters caused Charles' government increasing concern, the English seafaring community became far more law-abiding. Of the continual references to pirates in the State Papers, very few are concerned with British subjects. By 1640, no foreigner could charge the English with being a race of pirates - a popular belief in James' time. Just as the English rovers had lost their hegemony in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, so they became extinct in their own waters. The regular naval squadrons which were designed to deal with the incursions of foreign marauders made existence for poorly-equipped amateur English pirates an impossibility. By 1640, only one vestige of English piracy remained, and this only because of the favourable if artificial conditions which prevailed in the river of the capital.

CHAPTER VI

THE BUSINESS OF PIRACY

To attempt to piece together a picture of pirate life, both on board ship and ashore, is a formidable task. Pirates, like dead men, tell no tales. Although many of them were both literate and articulate, they apparently never found the time or the inclination to chronicle their misdeeds. The one notable exception for the early Stuart period is Of the Beginnings, Practices, and Suppression of Pirates, written in 1616 or 1617 by Henry Mainwaring, and presented to King James as a thanksgiving for his pardon in 1618.

The examination books of the High Court of Admiralty are the only other sources that survive to supplement and qualify Mainwaring's work. They provide valuable information on the lives and seamanship of pirates, but it must be painstakingly gleaned from the many thousands of testimonies before any coherent picture can emerge. This is because the Piracy Commissioners, who conducted the interrogations and framed the questions, were mainly concerned with finding out: who the pirates and their accomplices were , what had become of them , what goods they had taken and how they had disposed of them - all with a view to making arrests, recovering booty and drawing up indictments. The commissioners were not interested in details of seamanship and pirate life, except where these had a direct bearing on the case. Thus comments taken down during testimony, which must have appeared to the judge and his deputies as little more than colourful irrelevencies, have a special interest for the student of piracy.

To establish the identity of offenders was no easy matter. A pirate was less likely to be brought to trial than a land-bound criminal. The admiralty indictments almost invariably state that the accused committed the piracy with 'diversi alii pirates et malefactores incogniti'. Pirate crews of at least sixty were quite common and yet

usually only a few of the offenders ever stood trial. In the surprise of an attack, witnesses often caught no more than a fleeting glimpse of their assailants before being unceremoniously stowed beneath the hatches. The pirates were well aware of this, and took steps to prevent any incriminating identifications. It was not unknown for Thameside pirates to wear masks, and to be known only by popular names such as Black Will or Dick of Dover.[1] Pirates on the high seas rarely went to these lengths, although they took the precaution of calling one another by their christian names only, or else by the offices which they held in the ship. The steward of Sampson's ship at Tunis was particularly careful for it was reported that he 'had thre names as Tom Nobody, Tom Steward, Tom Cooke'.[2] A pirate's identity was often unknown even to his ship-mates. John Barret, a London apprentice, spent five or six weeks at sea with Captain Coward's crew of fifty men, and yet he was only able to name one of the crew because they concealed their real names from each other.[3] Many of the witnesses who appeared before the court could do no more than describe the physical appearance of their attackers in rather vague terms. Often they were even uncertain how many men had attacked them. Pirates who boarded vessels in their seamen's clothes had the appearance of rough and desperate men, but when witnesses came to identify them, they might be well dressed and groomed - to the obvious confusion of their victims.[4]

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1 Supra, p. 176.

2 H.C.A. 1/47/48: 11 November 1609.

3 H.C.A. 1/47/146: 27 August 1610. A carpenter who was carried said he to sea by Captain Baugh could not identify any of the pirates, 'for they woulde not discover them, but calle themselves by contrarie names' (H.C.A. 1/47/233: 13 August 1611).

4 H.C.A. 13/98/88-9: 30 August 1613.

Some pirates were easily identified because of a physical defect or peculiarity. Arthur Halse, who was distinguished by a long lock of hair which could cover the whole of his face, was foolish enough to make his identification even more certain by appearing before the judge wearing stockings which were part of his loot.[1] And yet even when a pirate could be positively identified, witnesses might be reluctant to speak up, especially if they had nothing to gain, since the prisoner could be set free. George Kirby, one of the crew of the Judith of Rochester, which was pirated in the Thames by James Haggerston and his men, had no difficulty identifying one of his assailants, who was in the Marshalsea Prison:

> ... a little shorte man with flaxen haire on his head and a yellowe bearde and hath a cutt over his righte cheeke and hath a longe tall woman in a red wascoate to his wiefe ... and he was called by the rest of his consorts by the name of blue bearde.

Kirby must have been a courageous man, for the pirate and his wife attacked him when he went to the prison, and Blue Beard threatened that if he ever got out he would chop Kirby in small pieces.[2]

Several notorious offenders were able to live at large with some degree of confidence. One such was William Longcastle, a Plymouth man, who had sailed with Ward, and who travelled around the countryside under the name of Captain Davis. He was able to spend six pleasant months with a friend at Woodley in Devon, during which time he 'wente to churche, and a huntinge, and kepte company publickly with the neighbors and parishioners', without anyone suspecting that he was wanted for piracy.[3] The case of Captain Thomas Tompkins was even more exceptional. He was a well-connected gentleman who gained notoriety in 1603 after he had plundered the Black Balbiana, a rich Venetian vessel.

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1 H.C.A. 1/48/60: 22 September 1615.

2 H.C.A. 1/48/234: 20 April 1619.

3 H.C.A. 1/47/126-7: 6 June 1610.

The Venetians protested strongly to James, and Tompkins was outlawed by proclamation in September of that year.[1] However, he returned to England with his riches and was not brought to trial until 1610, when he presented a petition to James, who remembered his name 'though it was many years since he had any dealings with the man'.[2]

A man wanted on suspicion of piracy had a good chance of evading arrest. In the country, the vice-admirals and other local officers were responsible for apprehending pirates, but they were often too weak to do so. It was an impossible task for the coastal officials to keep a watch on all men entering the country, and the detection of pirates was especially difficult because they often got passage home in merchant ships. There is no indication that a list of wanted men was ever circulated. The best that officers could do was to be on the look-out for seafaring men who were unemployed or unknown in the locality, and who might be spending too freely.

In fact, the admiralty officers were more interested in the sequestration of pirate goods than in the apprehension of the culprits. If a pirate was arrested and sent to London for trial, the judge of the admiralty could soon learn what had become of the loot, and then the vice-admiral would have to surrender his profits to the lord admiral. For example, when a pirate who was arrested in Devon was brought before John Rushley, the deputy vice-admiral at Fowey, Rushley simply took a silver chain from the pirate and released him.[3] The lenient treatment pirates received at the hands of local officers might also be due to some fellow-feeling. George Pomery, who had served as a pirate under Muckill and Ward, landed at Padstow and made his way to Devon, where

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1 Steele, Tudor and Stuart Proclamations, I, no. 972.

2 C.S.P. Ven. 1610-13, p.22, Correr to Doge and Senate, 5 August 1610; H.C.A. 1/47/96: 5 April 1610.

3 H.C.A. 13/98/194-5: 8 June 1614.

he was arrested by William Heal, kinsman to the vice-admiral. Heal confiscated £9 in gold and Spanish coin from Pomery, yet 'because he ... was a devonshire man borne, for his friendes' sake he would not deteyne him'.[1] To keep pirates in custody was an expensive business. The vice-admiral of Cornwall eventually released some of Muckill's crew on bail because they would confess nothing and no one appeared to testify against them.[2]

The only way a merchant could ensure that the king's officers were doing all that was possible to recover his property was to be on the spot himself. He could then identify his goods and the men who had robbed him, and prevent the officers from collaborating with the criminals. In practice, this was an almost impossible task, since pirates generally made use of some of the remotest areas in Britain, and even if intelligence of their whereabouts did reach the merchants, they stood little chance of arriving on the scene in time. The situation was far worse for foreigners who had been robbed. They could do little morethan place the matter in the hands of their ambassador in London or else appoint a factor to trace their merchandise. Scaramelli, the Venetian secretary, who was dispatched to England to recover his countrymens' property, soon discovered some of the problems involved, for he complained that 'not a single executive officer will move in this country without being first well paid.'[3] For small traders who had no permanent representative the situation was really desperate. Most of them soon found that it was better to write off their losses than to throw good money after bad.

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1 H.C.A. 13/97/161: 20 May 1608.

2 H.C.A. 13/97/249: 2 December 1608. John Skinner, another of Muckill's men, was arrested at Penryn, but escaped indictment when he was sent aboard the king's ship Moon, which came into Falmouth in need of a pilot (H.C.A. 13/97/216: 1 October 1608).

3 C.S.P. Ven. 1592-1603, p. 568, Scaramelli to Doge and Senate, 7 April 1603.

The chances of being apprehended were greater in London, and wanted men avoided the city for fear that they would be recognized.[1] Yet officers still encountered resistance in the execution of their duty. The word soon spread whenever search was being made for 'seafaring men',[2] and some Londoners not only harboured, but openly assisted pirates to make their getaway. In 1606, John Skelton was arrested in Ratcliffe by Edmund Redmayne, one of the king's messengers, who was armed with an admiralty warrant and letters of assistance from the Privy Council. An ugly crowd soon surprised Redmayne and helped Skelton to seek refuge in the nearby house of Richard Cornish. When Redmayne showed Cornish his letters of authority and asked for his assistance, Cornish merely replied that 'hee cared nether for him ... nor his badge ... and further asked the saied Skelton yf hee would bee rescued awaie and Skelton saied yea'.[3] Skelton was later captured and sentenced to death, but he must have been a popular man, for a collection was taken up among the maritime population to save his life, and he was allowed out of prison to help drum up money. Inevitably, he escaped, and the last that was seen of him he was on Tower Hill 'goinge on a rounde pace'.[4]

Pirates who were taken in the country were usually sent to London by means of an archaic system by which they were passed along from tithing to tithing. The constables, or tithingmen, who were responsible for conducting them along the way, were commonly no more than part-time officers, who did not relish the time and expense involved in escorting prisoners or keeping them overnight. The constabulary were sometimes illiterate and unable to read the warrants they received, with the result that they had no idea how dangerous their prisoners were. This

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1 H.C.A. 13/97/278: 18 February 1609.

2 H.C.A. 13/98/89: 31 August 1613.

3 H.C.A. 1/46/257: 27 June 1606.

4 H.C.A. 1/46/328-30: 30 March 1607.

could lead to almost farcical escapes. Tom Turner, the tithingman of Littleton, was given custody of two pirates who were being sent up to London from Portsmouth, but since he was unable to read the warrant, 'he thought them to be no offenders but ydle fellowes to be conveyed to the place of there abode.' He arrived with his protégés at his destination, but the next constable, as was usual in such cases, was unwilling to receive them so late at night, whereupon, 'the prisoners, hearing that, came ... and snatched the warrant out of his hande and wente over the stile into the highway'. Turner was probably as willing to let them go as they were to escape, for when he was asked how he had delivered his prisoners he replied:

> Well enough, for I delivered them the warrant and they said unto me god have mercy good father.[1]

The dangers involved in moving prisoners from tithing to tithing can be seen by the reaction of Sir Richard Hawkins, vice-admiral of Devon, who, asked to send some captured pirates to the capital, replied:

> .... I never sent any in that manner which escaped not before they came to London.[2]

Escape from the Marshalsea Prison was not unknown. Jonas Prophet, who was under sentence of death, got away when he was allowed to see a female friend in the porter's lodge.[3] Some pirates enjoyed considerable freedom and were allowed many visitors. Indeed, judging by the case of John Exton, prison was not necessarily an unpleasant place for a pirate with friends and money. William Richardson, the deputy keeper

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1 H.C.A. 1/46/38-9: 23 April 1602. A similar escape took place in the Strand in 1609 when a pirate was being brought up from Glamorgan (H.C.A. 1/47/41-2: 6 September 1609).

2 S.P. 14/34/6, Hawkins to Nottingham, 3 June 1608.

3 H.C.A. 13/98/112-3: 1 October 1613.

of the Marshalsea, was bribed not to put Exton in irons, and to allow him to walk in the gardens. Richardson even let Exton's wife into the prison to spend the night with her husband. Exton finally made his escape when his wife and Richard Scadding, his brother-in-law, smuggled grappling irons and ropes in to him. He climbed the prison wall and found a horse and weapons waiting for him, together with a new suit to change into, since he 'was knowne by his greene clothes.'[1]

Arrest, therefore, was a haphazard affair and presented many opportunities for pirates to cheat the gallows. Sockwell's lieutenant, Jasper Vandernes, was only taken in Nottingham 'uppon suspition of felony for being a Jesuitt', and even then was released before his true identity was discovered, although he was wearing a waistband containing £300 in gold.[2] His captain was more enterprising. Late in 1609, when hue and cry was made for him in London, Sockwell decided that he would be safest in prison. Accordingly, using the alias of Needham, he arranged for a friend to arrest him and spent two weeks in Newgate. When he came out the hunt had died down and he was able to make his way to Ireland.[3] It is surprising that so many pirates were arrested when it was the easiest thing in the world for them to go on a long voyage, or to take refuge in another part of the country until their crimes were forgotten.

Often men could turn to piracy in the knowledge that there was little chance that they would ever have to pay for their crimes, even if they were captured. This was especially true in Ireland, where piracy flourished prior to 1615, and where prisoners had to be sent to England for trial until 1614. No half-measures were employed in sentencing pirates - they were either executed, or set free. They were never given

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1 H.C.A. 13/97/22-3, 25-7, 92-3: 22, 25 June, 15 December 1607. Richardson and Scadding were both indicted for their parts in the escape (H.C.A. 1/5/157-8).

2 H.C.A. 1/47/8: 19 May 1609.

3 H.C.A. 1/47/112: 30 April 1610.

long terms of imprisonment, which would have put the king to considerable expense, and would have been a dubious form of punishment, since as Mainwaring said:

> ... their whole life for the most part is spent but in a running Prison ...[1]

Thus many pirates avoided punishment. In 1609, when Captain Harris' pirate ship was taken at Baltimore by Sir William St. John, he put ashore 'the poorer sorte and suche as were newlye come'.[2] Indeed, it would have been imprudent for the king to have executed all his lawless seamen,

> ... for that the State may hereafter want such men, who commonly are the most daring and serviceable in war of all those kind of people.[3]

The safety with which men could flout the law soon became common knowledge in Ireland, for as Mainwaring observed, they are:

> ... greatly emboldened by reason of a received opinion and custom is here for the most part used, that none but the Captain, Master, and it may be some few of the principal of the Company shall be put to death.[4]

Thus men flocked to join the pirates with impunity. Even if they were apprehended, the vice-admirals and other officers were usually willing to compound their crimes, since news of the pirates' capture was unlikely ever to reach the injured parties.[5] Even the most wanted pirates had some degree of security, for if they could not obtain their pardon in England, they could always turn to Tuscany or Savoy. In 1611-12 there was a general pardon. Moreover, pirate captains could also receive specific pardons, such as the one granted to Captain Peters and his men. Although these were often given on the condition that the

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1 Mainwaring, Life and Works, II. 18.

2 H.C.A. 1/47/36: 19 August 1609.

3 Mainwaring, Op. cit., II. 18.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid., II. 20.

pirates satisfied the merchants whom they had robbed, this still left them considerable leeway for a healthy profit.[1]

Mainwaring's observations on the ease with which offenders could escape punishment only apply to Ireland at the time when piracy was at its height. Such conditions were not generally prevalent - indeed in England the opposite seems to have been true. It was the deck-hands and common sailors, who had usually squandered what little share of the spoils they were given, who stood to lose most if they were captured. Pirate captains and their officers, who kept most of the loot, could hope to buy their freedom by reaching a composition with the men whom they had robbed. Merchants who had spent a good deal of time and money in pursuit of their goods would far rather receive some compensation than insist on exacting their pound of flesh. A rich pirate could buy his freedom, whereas an impoverished offender, who was unlucky enough to be taken into custody, had nothing with which to redeem his life. Thus all pirates were not equal before the law.[2] It was not the captains and the most prominent members of their crews who usually paid the ultimate penalty. Most of the men who trod the gallows were what Mainwaring would have described as the 'meaner sort.'

Pirate crews were always in need of new conscripts, especially skilled men such as carpenters, surgeons and pilots. To this end, they often forced men to join them from ships which they encountered at sea. Mainwaring was, however, very sceptical of whether these recruits were indeed 'perforst-men', for out of six or seven hundred men who served under him, he said that there were not even three who were really perforst. In fact, they usually went to join the pirates 'willingly and cheeffully', in the knowledge that if they were ever accused of piracy they could claim that they had had no alternative. With this in mind, scenes were often staged whereby men were dragged from their ships by the pirates,

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1 Ibid., II. 21.

2 Supra, p. 35.

weeping and pleading with them, so that when their shipmates returned to England, they could testify that their comrades had indeed been forced to serve against their will. In practice, perforst-men were often worse offenders than any hardened pirates, for:

> ... such men knowing themselves to be privileged are more violent, head-strong, and mutinous than any of the old Crew ...[1]

They usually stayed with the pirates until they had 'struck up a hand' and could return to England with their profits. Sometimes they even carried notes from pirate captains absolving them from their crimes. After Easton received his pardon in Savoy, he gave certificates to those of his crew who wished to return home, saying that they had been forced into his service.[2] Of course, perforst-men had to be careful to conceal their profits, since if they were known to have taken a share of the spoils the game was up, for as Mainwaring said:

> ... I never knew seamen so violently liberal, as to force men to receive money, nor any so courteous and so conscionable as to refuse what was offered them.[3]

Some perforst-men were even brazen enough to claim their seaman's wages for the voyage on which they had been engaged when they were 'carried off'.[4]

John Key, a ship's master, was a typical perforst-man. After his ship, the John Baptist, was captured by Ward in 1606, Key threw in his lot with the pirates and joined Ward in the Gift, a 200-ton flyboat mounting thirty guns. Key successfully exhorted the crew to attack a strong Venetian argosy, saying that he would have done as much if he had only been in a fifty-ton bark. He was one of the first to board the ship, where he proclaimed himself captain. Besides a £100 share in the prize, Key received 3,000 pieces of gold from the purser of the

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1 Mainwaring, op. cit., II. 23.

2 H.C.A. 13/98/60-1: 14 June 1613.

3 Mainwaring, op. cit., II. 23.

4 For Mainwaring's observations on perforst-men see ibid., II. 22-3.

argosy in return for a promise not to maltreat the Venetians. When Ward learnt of this, Key was forced to hand over 2,500 pieces of gold, but Ward returned 500 to him. On his return to England, Key brought some examinations to the admiralty which had been taken by the Anglo-French consul at Tunis, and which, he claimed, showed his innocence. He admitted that the pirates had given him thirty pieces of gold to enable him to return home, but despite grave suspicion he was eventually able to clear his name by calling witnesses to testify that he had been forced to join Ward and had refused to accept any part of the booty. Key was evidently able to enjoy his loot, for one of his neighbours in Limehouse said that he had returned to England a wealthy man, and was moving to a more spacious house.[1]

Some of the most hardened pirates began their careers as perforst-men. Both Robert Walsingham and Thomas Tucker, who were taken by Easton out of the Daisy of London off the Guinea coast in 1612, became pirate captains of repute, while Henry Cullimore, who was also in the Daisy, rose to be Easton's lieutenant and was still with him a year later when he sailed into Villefranche.[2]

Not every perforst-man was as willing as Mainwaring suggests. Only a man like Walsingham, who collaborated with the pirates and was forceful enough to hold his own in their company, was likely to benefit. For a weaker or less co-operative man life aboard a pirate vessel could be miserable. Robert Tindal, who was also taken out of the Daisy, claimed that he had been beaten about the head and thrown overboard by the pirates, who had treated him like a slave.[3] Captain Harvey stabbed one man seven times for refusing to join him,[4] and Captain Stephenson

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1 H.C.A. 13/97/15, 112-3, 121, 125, 139-40, 159-60: 30 May 1607, 1, 2, 25 March, 11 May 1608.

2 H.C.A. 13/98/7, 62: 10 December 1612, 4 June 1613.

3 H.C.A. 1/47/314: 11 September 1612.

4 H.C.A. 1/47/314: 30 September 1612.

forced one carpenter to join his crew by threatening that 'he must have him, or else he would shoote him of in a peece of ordinance.'[1] Life was not necessarily easy for the perforst-man aboard an English pirate ship, and he would be even worse off were he to fall into the hands of Dutch or Turkish corsairs. The Englishmen who were captured by the Dutch rover Captain Drinkwater were 'made slaves and compelled to doe the drudgerie of the shippe.'[2] Mainwaring was only referring to English men who were forced to serve English pirates, and even then there was always the possibility that they would be discarded when they were no longer needed. There was little loyalty among pirates and perforst-men could come to a bad end. Some of those who had been conscripted by Easton in Newfoundland returned to Ireland with Captain Roope and were put ashore at Kinsale without money and in such dire straits that some of them died.[3]

A perforst-man could not hope to plead his innocence if he was captured by ships of another country. William Stutfield, who was taken out of a bark on the Irish coast by Richard Bishop, was made to serve the pirates for about two years,

> ... beeing a man that in regarde of his arte and skill in Chirurgerie they woulde by noe meanes lette goe.

Stutfield was taken prisoner by the Spanish when one of Bishop's prizes was captured by them. He was condemned to the gallies, and was not freed until April 1614.[4]

Although the eagerness with which men joined the pirates and the rapid turnover in pirate crews made detection difficult, the court was not so easily deceived by perforst-men as Mainwaring suggested. The

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1 H.C.A. 1/47/207: 26 June 1611.

2 H.C.A. 1/47/177: 2 April 1611.

3 H.C.A. 13/98/7: 10 December 1612.

4 Bishop testified that Stutfield had indeed been taken against his will. H.C.A. 13/98/213: 20 August 1614.

piracy commissioners were constantly listening to various excuses and made every effort to determine the truth. Mathew Hutchinson, lieutenant to Captain Webb at Mamora, pleaded that he was forced to serve Webb and had been sick below decks whenever the pirates took a prize. However, he was convicted of piracy after his story was discredited by the evidence of Paul Goddard, whom Hutchinson had compelledto serve as his boatswain.[1] Masquerading as a perforst-man was not as safe and profitable an occupation as Mainwaring made out. His views were coloured by the contempt of the professional outlaw for men who shared the same profits but not the same risks.

Pirate careers often began modestly on the English or Irish coasts. It was easy for a group of malcontents to board ships in the Thames which were manned only by a skeleton crew. Many vessels lay at such places as Gravesend, Tilbury Hope or Queenborough, where the pirates could 'put to sea before a wind, so that they cannot be stayed or prevented.'[2] Some of these seizures amounted to little more than robbery, and the culprits were content to take what they could and get ashore, but for others, such as Ward, this petty piracy presented 'a fundation one the ground of which, wee may raise our good hap'.[3]

For an ambitious pirate, the area around Ushant offered opportunities for capturing more seaworthy vessels of as much as 200 tons, which were engaged in the local Brittany trade, and which were undermanned and could therefore be easily overpowered.[4] At this stage in his career, an aspiring pirate's main advantages lay in the superior numbers of

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1 H.C.A. 1/6/72, 90-2; 1/47/165-6, 178: 20 February, 10 April 1611.

2 Mainwaring, op. cit., II. 15.

3 Barker, A True Report, p. 10.

4 These included small Frenchmen, pinks and 'brawmes' - a kind of Dutch coasting vessel, all of which were good sailors (Mainwaring, op. cit., II. 14).

his crew and in his ability to surprise unsuspecting ships. One effectiveruse was to conceal men below decks and to invent some story in order to get near enough to another vessel and board her. Soon after Ward had stolen a bark from Portsmouth, he was able to take a seventy-ton Frenchman off the Scillies by 'passing many houres in courteous discourse'.[1] Some Thameside pirates had a similar success in the North Sea. On 20 May 1616, a hoy named the Eagle of Sandwich lay at Leigh, with a cargo of masts, yards and cables, ready to sail for Fareham. That night, sixteen men under Captain Harris, whose father was keeper of the castle at 'the mounte', rowed to the hoy, overpowered two men and a boy who were on board, and put to sea. Apparently the Eagle was a mediocre vessel, for the pirates gave chase to several ships without any luck and were eventually forced to adopt more cunning tactics. More than a week after they had taken the Eagle, they encountered the Black Dog, a Zealand pink, somewhere between Yarmouth and Holland. Most of the pirates hid under the hatches, while the skipper of the Eagle, whom they left on deck, hailed the pink and asked for water - a request which the Dutch master granted with disastrous results, for atriking his topsail, he:

> ... flung out a roape willinge him [the skipper of the Eagle] to fasten his pott to the roape, notwithstandeinge the saied skipper steered his shippe and clapped this examinant's pinke upon her after quarter and soe soone as theye came boarde for boarde, the Engelishe boarded them.[2]

Pirates were greatly helped in these tactics by the contemporary practice by which one ship would hail another at sea to find out its nationality and destination. It was easy for pirates to approach unsuspecting vessels because they invariably used merchantmen and also

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1 Barker, op. cit., p.10.

2 H.C.A. 1/47/141: 12 August 1610. See also 1/6/39, 40; 1/47/139: 6 August 1610.

there was considerable difficulty in distinguishing between ships of different nations. This enabled pirates to get fairly close to their prey before they revealed their identity with the chilling cry:

> We are of the sea.[1]

Pirates could further deceive other vessels by flying whichever flag most closely approximated to the ship they were in, or to the needs of the moment.[2] Thus Anthony Townes and his crew of twenty-two, in a flyboat, were able to capture the Anne of Chichester at Limerick by masquerading as Mediterranean merchants and enticing the merchants and some of the crew of the Anne aboard their flyboat to buy their goods.[3] Thomas Sockwell was even more enterprising. While posing as king of Lundy, he was able to take a 250-ton Flemish vessel which put in there in March 1610, by luring the master and pilot aboard his own ship, pretending that it was a naval vessel in search of pirates.[4] If such confusion could exist between a pirate vessel and a royal ship, there was considerable scope for a poorly-equipped pirate to better his fortune by deceit. In 1609, John Brook, the master of the Golden Dragon of London, trading to Barbary and the Madeiras, testified to the increasing gravity of the situation:

> ... seafareinge men are in farre greater dainger now then they were in the time of the Spanishe warres, by reason that then it was easie to know a man of warre, but now everie shalloppe is a man of warr and doethe carrie the coulors of everie nation, and soe, by deyices and trickes doe gett aboarde and take merchante shipps, for that it is harde for anie to escape, insoe muche that hee /Brook/ beeleevethe theere have been at leaste a hundred Engelishe ships taken and pillaged within this xii moneths.[5]

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1 Dabone, A Christian turn'd Turke, Act 1 Sc. 2. This seems to have been a common cry amongst English seamen going into battle. See John Smith's description of a fight at sea in 'An Accidence for Young Sea-men', (1626), printed in Capt. John Smith Works, 1608-1631, ed. Arber, p.796.

2 Mainwaring, op. cit., II. 25.

3 H.C.A. 13/98/229: 20 September 1614.

4 H.C.A. 1/47/113: 30 April 1610.

5 H.C.A. 1/47/22: 22 June 1609. Not surprisingly, pirates often took flags from ships which they had captured, e.g. H.C.A. 1/47/172: 11 March 1611.

Even when pirates had sufficient strength to attack merchantmen openly, the guile of their early days never deserted them. Deception was always one of the strongest weapons in the pirates' armoury. When several pirate ships worked together, they would spread out at daybreak so that they appeared to be innocent merchantmen plying against the wind. They put on few sails, so that they were difficult to see at a distance and would not frighten their prey away. They always kept a look-out at the tops of their ships and they had a system of signalling by which they could communicate 'when to chase, when to give over, where to meet, and how to know each other, if they see each other afar off.' They usually hung around capes and other likely areas in an effort to intercept ships rather than to chase them. A favourite trick was to work their vessel as though she were in distress, or to hang out 'drags' underwater when they were under full sail, so that their ship appeared to be cumbersome.[1]

Even though their ships were heavily armed with ordnance, the pirates' main advantage still lay in their superiority in numbers. It was only as a last resort that they would attempt to batter a prize into submission and risk destroying the prize, her cargo and many of their own men in the process.[2] They preferred to close with a ship and board her at the first possible opportunity, so that their fierceness and experience would win the day. A boarding-party was a fearsome sight, calculated to frighten the enemy into surrendering. When John Ward and his men seized the John Baptist, it was said that 'theire boardeinge was verie suddeine, desperate and without feare.'[3] The

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1 Mainwaring, op.cit., II. 24.

2 Ibid.

3 H.C.A. 13/97/125: 2 March 1608. Boarding-parties were not always a success. For example, in 1610, Easton was unable to take a ship by boarding because the sea was too rough (H.C.A. 1/47/188: 7 May 1611). Richard Hodges was a particularly unfortunate pirate, who was taken prisoner when he led an attack on the Hopewell of Harwich 'with his sworde drawne ... expectinge the reste of his compaine to follow him. But it happened that theire shippes fell asunder' (H.C.A. 13/98/237: 10 October 1614).

following year, the defenders of the Soderina lost heart when they were faced with Ward's men at close quarters.[1] Pirates realised their psychological advantage and made the most of it. For the attack on the Cock of St. Omer, Henry Stakes and his crew primed their guns with powder but without shot, and then fired at the chests of the defenders in an attempt to scare them.[2]

Many of the pirates had nothing to lose and consequently gave little thought for their own safety. Mainwaring observed that:

> Myself have seen them in fight, more willingly expose themselves to a present and certain death, than to a doubtful and long slavery.[3]

Captain Jolliffe was one such man. When his ship with its crew of thirty was boarded by a Dutch man-of-war, he forced the Dutch to break off the action by threatening to set fire to his powder magazine and blow himself and everyone else to smithereens.[4] The threat of self-destruction was actually carried out by Captain Hills of Plymouth. In 1611, his pirate vessel, with forty-five men on board, encountered three Spanish galleons, and, rather than surrender, Hills fired his own ship and he and all his crew perished in the sea, with the exception of twelve who escaped with severe burns.[5]

In fact pirates rarely encountered much resistance, because sailors on merchantmen were unwilling to risk their lives in the defence of other mens' property. In 1611, William Goodlad, the master of the William and Ralph, called his crew together to exhort them to give battle to a pirate ship mounting twenty-eight guns and commanded by William Hughs. Not surprisingly, the men declined, and they told Goodlad that it was best to do as the pirates said, for:

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1 Supra, p.64.
2 H.C.A. 13/98/91: 31 August 1613.
3 Mainwaring, op.cit., II. 19.
4 H.C.A. 1/48/16: 14 December 1614.
5 S.P. 94/18/126, Digby to Salisbury, 20 July 1611.

> ... yf you shott but one shott, yf they take you, you loose shipp and goodes.[1]

This was generally understood by English sailors, and although Turkish rovers were not so dependable, it was common knowledge that sailors who offered no resistance would lose their goods but would have a fair chance of being allowed to keep their ship.[2] Any attempt at resistance which failed invariably resulted in loss of all property and severe reprisals, and if the pirates were Turks, the crew might be sold into slavery. The problems faced by merchantmen in deciding whether or not to give battle to pirates were highlighted by an interesting civil action brought in the admiralty court in 1611 against Thomas Hunt, master of the Gift of God, whom, it was alleged, had betrayed his ship with her lading of wheat and timber to the English pirate Captain Parker. The case against Hunt looked bad, for apart from offering no resistance to the pirates, he had hailed them to tell them what cargo he was carrying, and after the Gift of God had surrendered, he and his men had made merry with their captors. However, experienced seamen who were called to court testified that, under the circumstances, Hunt's action had been in no way dishonourable. The Gift of God had been completely at the pirates' mercy: Parker's ship was a 160-ton Flemish bottom mounting twenty-three pieces of ordnance and manned by about seventy men, whereas the Gift had but four guns and a crew of ten for her defence. Flight was impossible, for the pirate ship was in ballast, whereas the Gift was fully laden, and in any case men-of-war such as Parker's were fitted for speed and were usually able to fetch up merchantmen when using only half their sails.[3]

The evidence of Robert Rickman of Limehouse, aged fifty-nine, a man who had been at sea for forty years, thirty-six of them as ship's

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1 H.C.A. 1/47/184: 26 April 1611.

2 Mainwaring, op. cit., II. 30-1.

3 H.C.A. 13/41/241: 16 August 1611.

master, is particularly interesting for the light which it throws on the contemporary practice among merchantmen when intercepted by pirates at sea. To the charges levelled at Hunt, Rickman replied from his experience that:

> ... hee knowethe that pirats at sea, when theye have taken any shippe, after theie have quietly possessed themselves of that theye woulde have, theie doe eate and drincke and make merrie, and some times cause them that they have taken to doe soe allsoe, althoughe they bee taken sore againste theire will, nether can the eatinge and drinckeinge togeather bee justlie imputed to them that are taken as a presumpcion that they yeelded willingelie, for that beeinge taken, theie are glad to doe any thinge that the pirats will admitte them to to please them, beeinge Captives and not at theire owne disposicion
>
> ... hee knowethe that it is the Custoome amongeste Sea faringe men of the best sorte when theie finde themselves in such dainger that they are nether able to defende themselves by fighteinge nor to saile awaie from the pirats, to yeelde and submitte themselves in hope to obtaine favor, for otherwise theye are in dainger to bee slaine or made slaves. And hee saithe that it cannot be imputed to the saied Hunte as a faulte yf hee did yeelde, beeinge soe unable to resiste as it appearethe by the articles hee was.[1]

For most English masters, discretion was probably the better part of valour, because there was always a good chance that any complicity with pirates might never be brought to light. Even if such complicity was suspected, experienced seamen could easily be found to testify to the dilemma of ships crews confronted by pirates at sea.[2]

A typical description of an encounter with pirates was given in the High Court of Admiralty by William Oakes, who had been master of the Primrose of London when it was taken by Captain Francke in 1609:

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1 Ibid.

2 The determination of some merchantmen occasionally scared pirates off. For example, when Captain Plumley, the pirate, encountered the Flowers of Comfort off the Burlings, he decided not to attack her when he saw that she was prepared to give battle (H.C.A. 1/47/157: 5 December 1610).

> ... of the Northerne Cape [of Spain], a shippe of warre gave chase to them and comeinge neere them, this examinant and Companie called to them to beare up and they answeared that they woulde not beare up for the proudeste merchaunte in the Sea, and putt out in theire lower teere thirteene peeces of ordenance and commaunded this examinant and companie to hoise out theire boate ...[1]

This was the conventional method of procedure for most pirates. First they ordered the merchant, master or principal officers to board their ship, then, once they held these men as hostages, a boarding-party was sent to search the ship from top to bottom. The pirates could then examine their prize at leisure and set about looting it systematically. The two vessels might remain together for days - sometimes they were even tied together,[2] and the ship was only released when the rovers had plundered her to their satisfaction. The merchant crew would be questioned to see if there was any money hidden on board, and the bills of lading were inspected to check that none of the cargo had been concealed.

Pirates who were particularly suspicious, or just cruel, would sometimes torture their prisoners. In April 1608, after the Royal of Leith had refused to strike, John Downes and his men 'laid her on board' off the Cornish coast. In order to discover the whereabouts of some money, the pirates whipped two boys and tortured them by the popular device of tightening knotted ropes about their foreheads. The master was also tied to the main mast and beaten, and all the sailors were robbed of their chests and clothing. Downes' methods evidently met with success, for recorded among his loot are six bags of reals of eight worth £400.[3]

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1 H.C.A. 1/47/94: 31 March 1610.

2 H.C.A. 1/48/78: 14 March 1616.

3 H.C.A. 1/6/11; 1/47/70-1: 16 December 1609.

William Baugh was another captain who was ruthless in his search for plunder. After two of his ships had captured a Flemish vessel, Baugh arrived on the scene, and, learning that £3,300 in cash was concealed somewhere on the ship, without more ado he seized one of the petrified Flemings and 'sawed his throte with a dagger untill the blood ran downe' so that the poor man soon told Baugh all he wanted to know.[1]

A pirate's most prized possession was his ship, for it held a good deal of prestige in the eyes of his comrades. Most pirate vessels were merchantmen which had been taken at sea, refitted, and often re-christened with such appropriate names as the Gift, the Ambition, the Mamora or the Why Not I?. They were constantly changing hands, since pirates were always willing to transfer into a better vessel if they could get one. The ships were usually well supplied with victuals, drink, small arms, ordnance, powder, shot, cables, sails and all other ncessities, which the pirates could replenish from other ships according to their needs. A successful captain could fit out his ship with new equipment and keep the seas for many months at a time, at no cost to himself. A few pirates were driven to purchase a vessel, usually because they were ashore and eager to resume their roving. Bishop bought a ship from a Dutchman in Barbary for £150 in 1607,[2] and Leghorn was a popular centre for such transactions. Barry paid £250 for a 100-ton Flemish bottom,[3] Thornton bought a Dutch prize in 1613,[4] and Duppa purchased two ships there in the following year.[5]

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1 H.C.A. 13/42/208: 20 August 1613. Baugh was not always so lucky. Although he ransacked the True Love, which was returning to England from Spain, he found no money, for the master, Robert Colehurst, had dropped thirteen bags of coins into the bottom of the ship, whence they could only be recovered by cutting through the hull (H.C.A. 13/42/295-6: 17 May 1614).

2 H.C.A. 13/97/103: 27 December 1607.

3 H.C.A. 1/48/104: 2 July 1616.

4 H.C.A. 1/48/52: 22 July 1615.

5 Supra, p.94.

As might be expected, pirates developed an expert eye for a good ship, and the type which most attracted them was the Dutch fluyt or flyboat, which first made its appearance in the 1590's, and which was launched in great numbers during the twelve-year truce between Holland and Spain.[1] Mainwaring appreciatively noted that Flemish bottoms, 'go well, are roomy ships, floaty, and of small charge.'[2]

The flyboat had certain inherent advantages for the purposes of pirates.[3] Most important of all was its swiftness under sail. Since it had only one deck, it lay low in the water and consequently had little wind resistance, which, allied to a very favourable length-breadth ratio of between 4-6:1, meant that it could outsail most ships. Although its three masts were short, they were given a precipitous forward rake, which also helped to improve sailing qualities. The master of a London merchantman told how the 250-ton Flemish flyboat of Captain Hughs, which mounted twenty-eight demi-culverins, sakers and minions and six fouling pieces, 'sayleth from us with halfe their sayles.'[4] In 1609, three Lubeck ships and many shallops left Madeira in pursuit of Captain Francke's Flemish vessel, only to find that Francke made 'no reckoninge of them, beinge verie swifte of saile.'[5]

Because the flyboat only had one deck, it had less roll and pitch at sea than other ships which stood higher in the water. This made it easy to handle under sail - an important point - since fewer men were needed to crew the ship in battle and the increased stability enabled ordnance to be used that much more accurately.

The flyboat had a shallow draught, making it particularly suitable for inshore work, which meant that pirates could chase smaller ships and evade men-of-war which drew more water. Since the ship was

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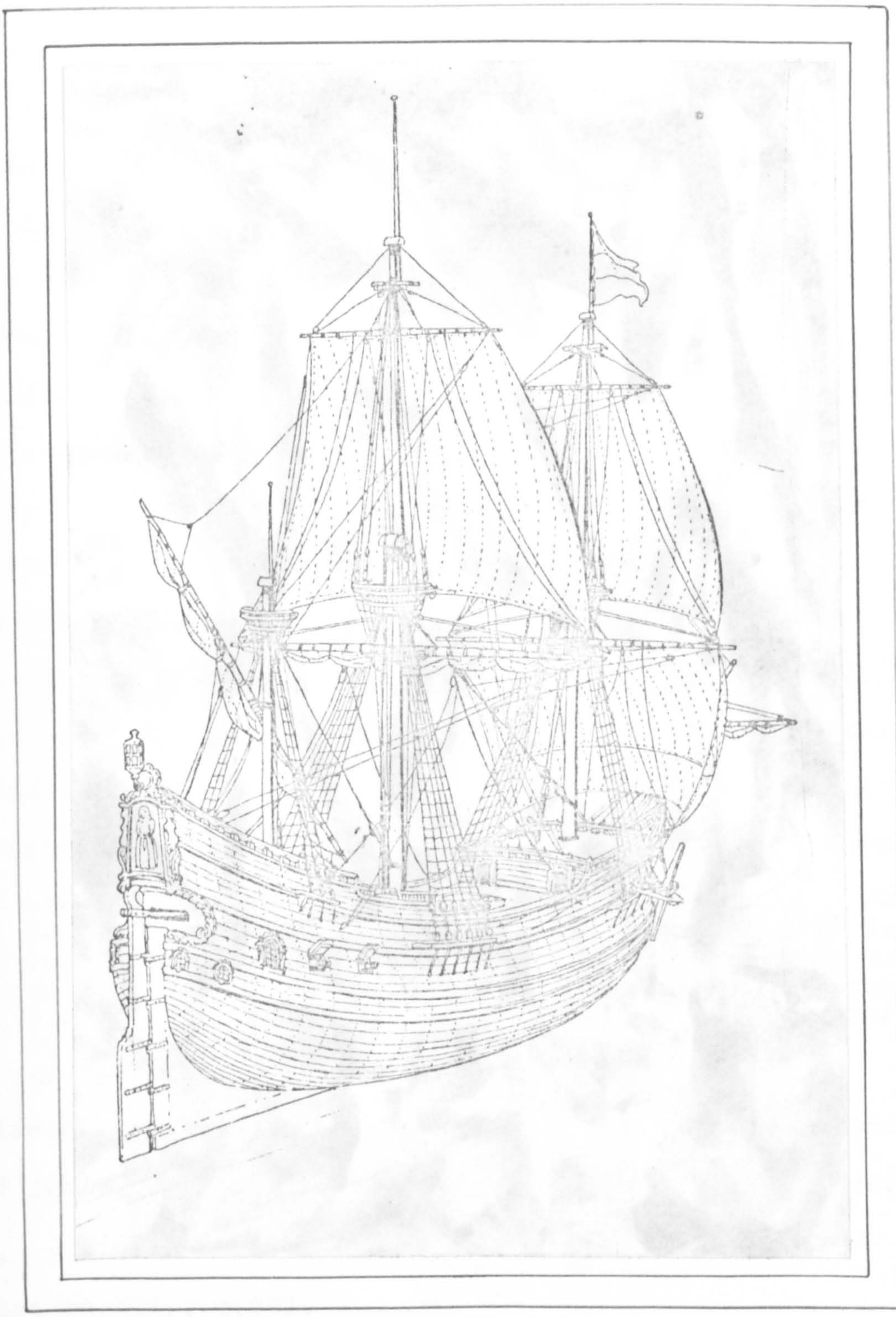
1 Violet Barbour, 'Dutch and English Merchant Shipping in the Seventeenth Century', Economic History Review, II (1929-30), p.280.

2 Mainwaring, Life and Works, II. 25.

3. For the following description of the qualities of a flyboat see Barbour, op. cit., pp. 276, 280.

4 H.C.A. 1/47/185: 26 April 1611.

5 H.C.A. 1/47/22: 22 June 1609.



An illustration of a
Dutch fluyt or flyboat
Taken from Björn Landstrom's The Ship, p154.

constructed for bulk carrying there was plenty of room to accomodate the large crews of fifty or more which typified pirate vessels, while the sturdy build of the hull enabled the ship to bear the additional weight of twenty or thirty pieces of ordnance.

Despite these qualities, the flyboat had never been intended to be used as a fighting ship. Violet Barbour described it as 'about as warlike as a coal-scuttle'.[1] It had achieved success as the carrier of the ponderous cargoes of England's 'lost trades', and certainly did not look at all warlike. It had no figurehead or decoration and carried few or no guns when used for trading purposes. This deceptive appearance, coupled with the fact that the flyboat was in regular use by many other countries besides the Dutch, made it attractive to pirates as the perfect decoy ship.

The pirates soon acquired great skill at converting flyboats to meet their particular needs. Robert Russel, ship's carpenter to Captain Robert Stephenson, has left an interesting account of the work which he carried out on the Flying Cow of Amsterdam at Mamora:

> Stephens caused xx portes to be cutt out, having but foure before, and made her a sparre decke abaste the maine mast, and newe gratinges round about withinborde, and rayled her round about, and also made her a newe misen maste, and new repayred her and furnished her with sayles rigging and other necessaries to his great chardges ...[2]

The popularity of flyboats amongst pirates was almost universal. Many held pride of place in descriptions of the pirate fleet, and of

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1 Barbour, op.cit., p.281.

2 H.C.A. 1/47/307: 11 August 1612. English pirates probably had a preference for square rigging. In 1606, a band put into Fowey where they did 'newe builde theire carvell ... and made her a cross saile' (H.C.A. 1/47/52: 13 November 1609). Sometimes captured cargoes such as deal boards and masts could be put to good use in refitting pirate vessels (H.C.A. 1/47/205: 21 June 1611).

six ships which surrendered in Britain in 1612, every one had been taken from the Dutch and converted to a man-of-war.[1]

Flyboats ranged in size from 100 to 900 tons, the most usual for trading purposes being between 200 and 500 tons.[2] The size favoured by pirates was in the region of 160-200 tons, although they are sometimes to be found in flyboats of 300 tons or more. These figures are based mainly on evidence given in the High Court of Admiralty which cannot claim to be anything more than rough approximations, albeit by experienced seamen. Although these figures should be viewed cautiously they may well be under-estimates, for the method of measuring a ship's tonnage which remained in general use throughout James' reign, was the most conservative of several alternative systems.[3] In any case, the

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1 They were: the Flying Cow of Amsterdam, Captain Stephenson; the Fortune of Serdam, Captain Arthur; the Black Raven of Hoorn, Captain Hughs; the Hunter of Rotterdam, Captain Gallop and the Brewer of Staveren and the Cat of Serdam under the command of Captain Baugh (H.C.A. 1/47/284: 12 May 1612). The Hunter was certainly a flyboat, and it seems likely that the other vessels were too. Stephenson and Francke had been cruising in two flyboats, each mounting twenty-four guns, in June 1611, which were probably the Flying Cow and the Fortune, since Stephenson gave the Fortune to Francke, who captured the Flying Cow at about this time (H.C.A. 1/47/234, 307: 19 September 1611, 11 August 1612).

2 Barbour, op.cit., p.280

3 Throughout James' reign tonnage was reckoned in 'tons burden', which was calculated by multiplying the length of the keel x the greatest breadth within the plank x the depth taken 'from the breadth to the upper edge of the keel' and dividing the total by 100. There was a controversy over the methods of reckoning tonnage between 1626-8 which have been set out by Oppenheim. However, since the method in use in James' reign was the most conservative of the new methods, a pirate ship said to be of 200-tons burden would have been of even greater capacity by any other method of calculation. (See Oppenheim, Administration, pp. 30, 132, 266.)

tonnage of a vessel cannot be taken as an indication of her seaworthiness. Small ships often made effective pirate vessels. For example, the Phoenix, which was fitted out in London in 1606 by the pirate Saxbridge, was only thirty-five tons, and yet she was capable of undertaking voyages to Guinea and the West Indies. She also possessed other qualities which endeared her to pirates, for she was 'a longe shipp her burthen considered ... draweth little water and hath good rome for stowidge of men.'[1]

There are other cogent reasons why the optimum size for a pirate ship was no more than 200 tons. Vessels of greater tonnage were likely to be slower and less manoeverable, and were difficult to maintain at sea for long periods because it was impossible to careen a big ship without special facilities.[2] It is also interesting to note that vessels of more than 300 tons would not have been able to pass the bar at Mamora.[3]

Of course, pirates did not always have good ships, and sometimes it was difficult for them to discern the sailing properties of a vessel until they had tried her. In 1608, John Downes forced the Gift of God to go to sea with him, but it was not long before he returned her to her master in disgust, with the words: 'your shipp is a carte'.[4]

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1 H.C.A. 1/46/286: 1 October 1606.

2 In the expedition against Algiers in 1620-1, Sir Robert Mansell found that the larger ships could not be maintained at sea much longer than six months. His vessel, the Lion, 600 tons, was declared unserviceable on 20 March 1621, the fleet having sailed on 12 October 1620, and she could only be cleaned and repaired in a dry dock. (B.M. Add. MS. 36445, f.68, Certificate of unseaworthiness on the Lion, signed by fourteen men including Phineas Pett.) Of the ships of the vice-admiral and rear-admiral, both 660 tons, it was said 'it is doubtfull that they cannot with possibility bring downe the Vanguard and Rainebowe soe lowe uppon the Careene' (B.M. Add. MS 36445, f.65, Mansell's instructions for his nephew Rice, 22 March 1621).

3 De Castries, Sources Inédites Archives de France, II. 571, Relation de la prise de El-Mamora, 7 August 1614.

4 H.C.A. 13/97/239: 3 November 1608.

Pirate ships mounted heavy ordnance when they could get it. It was quite common for a vessel to carry twenty pieces, and sometimes they boasted thirty or more. This was at least as many guns as were carried by heavily-armed merchantmen on naval expeditions, and far more than normal traders would carry.[1] Most of the pirates' pieces were iron, since they were captured from merchantmen which rarely had any of the more expensive brass weaponry. Pirates only used their fire-power when they were unable to board, but it appears that they were skilled in the art of gunnery. In 1614, Captain Kelly's Flemish ship, mounting twenty-three guns, gave chase to the Susan of London, which was forced to surrender after her foresail and halyards had been shot through and she had been hit 'between wind and water.'[2] Easton began his career as a gunner in Captain Robinson's ship,[3] and after retiring at Savoy, he was given complete charge over the duke's regiment of artillery, where he earned great credit, for it was reported that:

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1 Ward's flyboat mounted thirty-two cast pieces and was manned by 100 men (H.C.A. 1/46/203: 18 July 1605), while the Prong, Captain Stephenson, and the Black Raven, Captain Hussey, were both of 200 tons, mounted twenty-eight guns and were crewed by fifty men (H.C.A. 1/47/156: 23 November 1610). The Bull, Bear and Horse, Captain Robinson, was armed with fifteen iron pieces, five or six murderers and four brass guns (H.C.A. 1/47/104: 21 April 1610). Of the ten merchantmen employed in the expedition to Algiers in 1620-1, none was of more than 300 tons burden or carried more than twenty-six iron pieces (S.P. 14/122/106, 'A Journal of the Algiers Voyage.')

2 H.C.A. 1/48/31-2: 10 March 1615.

3 H.C.A. 13/97/144: 19 April 1608.

> ...he is so skilful in training guns that a few shots by him produce more effect than most could produce by many.[1]

The strongest pirate ships were more than a match for any merchantmen except East Indiamen or Spanish West Indiamen. In 1609, Captain Saxbridge captured a 500-ton Dutchman and brought her to Santa Cruz.[2] Sometimes the pirates even attacked men-of-war. In 1615, four ships of the Spanish navy left Cadiz in search of pirates, but they were soon forced to take refuge in Lisbon after they had been roughly handled by three of Mainwaring's ships.[3] Three years earlier, Easton had shown his strength when he captured and fired a small French man-of-war and engaged a larger one, although he failed to take the latter.[4] Similarly, the small patrol vessels of the English navy

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1 C.S.P. Ven. 1610-13, p.528, Vicenzo Gussoni to Doge and Senate, 26 April 1613. The number of guns carried by English pirate ships made them a target for attack by Moroccan chieftains who were in need of ordnance. For example, in 1607 Captain Warry's ship, mounting thirty-two pieces, was captured at Larache (de Castries, Sources inédites, Archives des Pays-Bas, I. 216-7 & n.5). Pirates were enlisted to handle artillery during the civil war in Morocco, and many of them were slain in battle outside Marrakech in 1607 (de Castries, Sources inédites, Archives d'Angleterre, II. 366).

2 H.C.A. 1/47/21: 22 June 1609. Pirates were helped by the fact that many merchantmen sailed poorly armed. In 1618 the Privy Council approved a petition of the Scottish merchants to send 200 iron pieces to arm their vessels, which were suffering at the hands of pirates because of a lack of ordnance in their ships (A.P.C. 1618-19, p.299).

3 C.S.P. Ven. 1613-15, p.509, Francesco Moresini to Doge and Senate, 8 July 1615. Mainwaring claimed that he 'put off' five Spanish men-of-war throughout Midsummer's Day 1615 with only two ships (Mainwaring, Life and Works, II. 11-12).

4 H.C.A. 13/98/59: 14 June 1613.

had their embarrassing moments on their own coastline. Only the Dutch navy, which captured several ships, seems to have had the measure of the pirates.[1]

Despite the surprising strength of pirate vessels, their speed, their skill in deception and their ability to remain at sea for long periods were their main advantages. Since they could replenish their victuals, drink and equipment from the prizes they took, they only really needed to come into land when the hulls of their ships were 'growing foul' and their sailing qualities consequently impaired. Even if they could not reach their own harbours, there was plenty of deserted coastline where they could grave their ships, and they soon grew skilled in such operations. For example, John Jennings graved his ship, the Hind, at Mevagissey in only twenty-four hours and was back at sea before anyone realised what had happened.[2] Speed was essential in this work, since the pirates were most exposed at these times. In 1612, Lambert Bastfield, a pirate captain from Liverpool, lost his ship to the Dutch admiral Moy Lambert, when he was surprised while graving and tallowing in a remote bay in Ireland.[3] Easton took more precautions when he carried out repairs and modifications to his vessels in Newfoundland. In 1612, after he had captured three Biscayners at Harbour Grace, he built a fort defended by sixteen guns, so that he could trim his ships and convert two of the Biscayners in safety.[4]

The lives led by many pirates are surprisingly consistent with the romantic conception of piracy. Many were hard-drinking womanizers who

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1 Supra, p.157.

2 H.C.A. 1/47/29: 21 July 1609.

3 H.C.A. 13/98/79: 9 July 1613.

4 H.C.A. 13/98/60: 14 June 1613. Biscayners were fishing vessels from the north coast of Spain which were popular with pirates. Thomas Tucker intended to go to Iceland to find a Biscayner to be his man-of-war (H.C.A. 1/48/55: 26 July 1615).

soon squandered their profits by excessive carousing on land. In December 1607, Captain Robinson brought a French prize into Baltimore laden with Malaga wine, raisins and almonds, the proceeds from which were dissipated by him and his crew in a short time 'in most riotous manner.'[1] Andrew Barker, the pamphleteer, wrote of Ward and his followers, 'Unlawfully are their goods got, and more ungodly are they consumed'.[2] Prostitutes found brisk business in Ireland,[3] and one pirate , Nicholas Tompson, was reported to be 'very ill of burneinge by whoores.'[4]

Wine, dice, cards and opium all found a ready market at Mamora.[5] Gambling was a favourite preoccupation amongst pirates, and they must also have passed many hours in song. Stephenson was one pirate captain who placed great store by music. Once, when he was 'daunceinge on boarde the Phillipp Bonaventure in Mamora harbor', he ordered Baptista Ingle, one of Captain Galloppe's/men, to 'winde his whistle', and took such a liking to Ingle's playing that he refused to release him in spite of Galloppe's/protests.[6] Much of the pirates' time ashore must have been spent in debauchery. Edmund Morris testified that while he was at Mamora he was given forty ducats by the pirates,

> ... in regard he attended uppon them, and did many base offices for them when they were druncke, and disordered them selves ...[7]

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1 H.C.A. 13/97/208: 22 September 1608.

2 Barker, A True Report, p.15.

3 Supra, p.121.

4 H.C.A. 1/48/68: 29 January 1616.

5 H.C.A. 1/47/238, 240: 16 October 1611.

6 H.C.A. 13/42/141: 23 March 1613. Unfortunately, this is the only reference to the songs and music of the pirates that I have come across.

7 H.C.A. 1/47/311: 26 August 1612.

The rigours of shipboard life made pirates willing to take whatever opportunities for entertainment came their way. Material goods were not the only prizes they could hope to find on the high seas. Amongst the more interesting items on board Captain Barry's ship when it came into Berehaven was a negro wench.[1] In May 1623, John Nutt and his crew of thirty-five captured a bark of Padstow near the mouth of Dungarvan harbour in Ireland, which was carrying twelve or fourteen female passengers, 'all which were ravished by the pyrates' company'. One of the women, a Mrs. Jones, the wife of a sadler in Cork, particularly took the fancy of the pirate captain, who took her into his cabin, 'and there had her a week'.[2]

Occasionally the excesses of pirate life might prove costly. For example, many 'perforst-men' among Captain Roope's crew seized the chance to run away while their captain was lying drunk on a hill.[3] Yet heavy drinking and the other enticements of the pirates' life were probably more of a help than a hindrance. One favourite way of gathering a crew together was to invite unsuspecting men aboard, get them drunk and put to sea. As Dabone wrote of the pirate captain:

> ... wanting men he invites some strangers ore
> Into his Barcke, in height of wine and game,
> He flips his anchor, and reveals his name.[4]

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1 H.C.A. 1/48/104: 2 July 1616.

2 The Council Book of the Corporation of Youghal, ed. Caulfield, p. xlix.

3 H.C.A. 1/47/255: 25 November 1611.

4 Dabone, A Christian turn'd Turke, prologue. Some men claimed that Captain Harris used these tactics in Ireland in 1609 (H.C.A. 1/47/33, 37-8: 18, 21 August 1609).

It would be wrong to give the impression that pirates who spent most of their time outside England were any more debauched than their counterparts at home. Indeed, low living probably pervaded the maritime population in general, being especially prevalent amongst idle sailors, or those who had returned home after many months at sea. The ruffians who were responsible for many Thameside piracies behaved little better than did pirates in Ireland or Barbary. When asked about Black Will and his accomplices, Robert Smith rather picturesquely replied that:

> ... they did usuallie hitte one an other in the teeth with theire whoores about Ratcliffe, Shadwell and Southwarcke ...[1]

Yet, on the whole, deep-sea pirates probably had more money and better opportunities to indulge themselves than pirates who remained in England, although their riotous behaviour was mainly confined to the land and does not appear to have been detrimental to their effectiveness at sea.[2]

Many pirates were married men, and whilst they were roving the seas some of them still felt responsible for their dependents at home. A few settled their families where they could be with them more often. Several operating under Dutch letters of marque moved their wives and children to Holland.[3] Captain Richard Robinson was a particularly good family man. At the turn of the century he gave £160 to his brother in London to invest for his two children, and the interest was sent regularly to his wife at Plymouth. In 1608, sensing the shadow of the gallows, he collected his money from his brother and took his wife and children to live in Ireland, where he would be able to

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1 H.C.A. 1/48/289: 31 January 1620.

2 The only case I have found occurred when some of Saxbridge's men rowed ashore at Torbay to get water and recruit followers. On the return journey, the helmsman was so drunk that he steered the boat to Portland, where the pirates were arrested and sent to Dorchester gaol (H.C.A. 1/47/61: 28 November 1609).

3 E.g. John Jennings, whose family lived at Flushing (H.C.A. 1/46/187: 11 May 1605).

see more of them.[1] The only chance for a pirate to support a family or relatives in England was to entrust money and presents to Englishmen he met abroad or at sea. This was common practice. For example, John Ward and Anthony Johnson gave £200 in Barbary gold to the master of the Husband to deliver to their wives.[2] Johnson was a remarkably considerate man, for soon after he had taken to piracy he sent some pins, which were part of his loot, to his mother, sister and wife.[3] Of course, such presents were illegal, but some relatives expected them as of right. William Smith, the marshal of the admiralty court, was once accosted by some irate wives who had not received the gold which their pirate husbands had sent them by means of an acquaintance, who had either handed the loot over to the lord admiral or pocketed it himself.[4]

It was probably easy enough for a pirate to lead a riotous life abroad while still maintaining his responsibilities at home. Michael Powel even managed to keep two wives in England - one at Ratcliffe and the other at Plymouth - a convenient arrangement for a seaman.[5] For Jasper Vandernes, Sockwell's lieutenant, riches were small compensation for the loss of the love of Jan Coultridge, a Dorset widow whom he hoped to marry. When Jasper returned from sea with rich presents for her, he was too late, /'Jane had byn lately before churched for that she as had a young child'.[6] It seems doubtful whether pirates' families suffered any more than those of other seamen. Gabriel Bonnage managed to give his thirteen year-old son Benjamin a bad start in life by taking

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1 H.C.A. 1/47/87-8: 6 March 1610.

2 H.C.A. 13/97/103: 27 December 1607.

3 H.C.A. 1/46/200: 6 July 1605.

4 H.C.A. 13/98/192-3: 6 June 1614.

5 H.C.A. 13/97/13: 30 May 1607.

6 H.C.A. 1/47/4, 9-10: 29 April, 29 May 1609.

him on a piratical venture in the Thames and on the Essex coast.[1] Yet there was no social stigma attached to a pirate's family. In 1617, the son of Thomas Coward, executed for piracy, was enrolled as apprentice to a goldsmith in Bristol.[2] In all liklihood successful pirates managed to make some provision for their families, even if the worst happened to befall them.

Pirates were by no means an uncontrollable rabble held together solely by a common lust for riches. It is possible to discern the workings of some kind of order in the Atlantic 'fleet'. This was a loose confederation of pirate ships, manned almost exclusively by Englishmen, which sometimes numbered as many as thirty or forty vessels.[3] However, they did not stay together at sea, and usually sought their prey individually or in small squadrons. Pirate captains were often appointed within a system of patronage. If a captain captured a ship and had sufficient men to man his prize as well as his own man-of-war, then he would put one of his followers in command of the prize. After Sockwell had taken a Dutch ship called the Jacob, he decided to keep her as his own. Accordingly, he placed some of his men in his old pink and made Bevins captain over them. He endeavoured to keep a tight control of these men by only allowing them a small part of their share for the capture of the Jacob. To make doubly sure of their loyalty, he 'gave unto them a smalle quantitie of Victualles, because theie shoulde not departe from him, but serve him for a Pinnace'.[4]

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1 H.C.A. 13/98/136-7: 6 November 1613.

2 Bristol Archives Dept., 'Abstract of the Bristol Apprentice Books, 1600-1630', p.67.

3 H.C.A. 1/47/157: 5 December 1610. This information came from Captain Plumley, one of the pirates.

4 H.C.A. 13/97/204: 19 September 1608. See also 13/97/221-2: 10 October 1608.

Captains did not always try to restrict the activities of their auxiliaries as much as Sockwell did. Some sold ships to aspiring members of their crew, or lent them on a hire-purchase basis, hoping to be repaid out of the proceeds of any booty which might be taken. Thomas Francke was launched as a pirate captain by Captain Robert Stephenson, who gave him the Fortune as his man-of-war. Francke soon repaid his debt. In July 1611, he handed over one of his prizes, the Flying Cow, to Stephenson, who fitted her out as his new warship.[1] Captain William Baugh operated on a percentage basis. His consorts, Millington and Walker, handed over all ships and loot which they captured, in return for one third of the total profits. Their trust proved to be misplaced, for Baugh took their spoils but neglected to share them out again.[2]

The loot was divided up amongst the pirates on some agreed basis, after the fashion of privateers, each crew member receiving so many shares in accordance with his outlay in the venture and his office in the ship. Aboard a pirate ship, bravery in battle, as well as the post which a man held, may have been a factor in determining what shares should be allocated to each man. Geoffrey Wiseman confessed in the admiralty court that he,

> ... was a private man with Captaine Ward and had such shares allowed him by the quarter masters, sometymes more, and sometymes lesse, as they thought he deserved.[3]

A division of the loot might be made at any time, depending on the strength of the captain and the greediness of the crew. There are indications that the pay-off was not just a matter of every man for himself, and may even have proceeded along gentlemanly lines. In 1607, after the capture of the Golden Lion of Lubeck, Thomas Lakes, one of the pirates, reported that:

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1 H.C.A. 1/47/308: 11 August 1612.

2 H.C.A. 13/98/33-4, 37-8: 1, 26 March 1613.

3 H.C.A. 13/39/148: 23 March 1608.

> Morgan was the purse bearer, and the money was brought unto him by the company as they receaved yt.[1]

Ships and property were continually changing hands within the fleet, and this required some general acceptance of ownership and credit. Early in 1610, Thomas Hussy became captain of the Black Raven, when he bought a three-quarters share in the ship from Captain Parker, who had captured it in the previous year. Early in 1611, Hussy died in bed in his cabin, surrounded by the other captains of the fleet. In their presence, he made a will, leaving his ship and goods to William Hughs, his lieutenant, who had purchased the remaining quarter share in the Black Raven - a fact which was soon generally known and accepted by the pirate band.[2] A similar event occurred a few years later, when Captain Myagh came into Ireland with an inheritance which he had received from Captain Peters, who, on his death, had 'made Captain Myagh his executer and lefte him his shippe and goods', which were said to be worth as much as £6,000.[3]

The internal patronage of the fleet naturally lent itself to a hierarchical grouping, since some captains owed their position to their old commanders. The most prominent captains in the fleet or in a large squadron were often designated admiral, vice-admiral or rear-admiral. Sometimes leaders were selected by the men themselves. Thomas Sockwell's crew chose him to be the captain of the ship in which he had a part-share,[4] and Richard Bishop was reported to have been 'elected' admiral of the whole Atlantic fleet.[5] Of course, the extent of a captain's

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1 H.C.A. 13/97/164: 4 June 1608.

2 H.C.A. 1/47/305-6: 9 August 1612. Hughs was not Hussy's lieutenant when he purchased a quarter share in the ship, but he assumed the position some months later on the death of Hussy's second in command.

3 H.C.A. 13/98/210: 3 August 1614.

4 H.C.A. 13/97/32: 5 July 1607.

5 C.S.P. Ir. 1608-10, p.277, Sir Richard Moryson to Salisbury, 22 August 1609.

control over his men depended very much on his ability to command. Bishop was not a man to be trifled with. In 1608 he entrusted a sixty-ton pink which he had captured to one of his crew named Walker. Walker subsequently took a St. Thome man laden with sugar and brought her into Safi. However, when Bishop arrived he discovered that Walker had been cheating him, so he put him ashore and took control of the prize, which he put under the command of James Harris, whom he had redeemed from slavery at Tunis.[1] Similarly, Mainwaring exercised such control over his men that he was able to return some goods which he had mistakenly taken from British merchants, despite the outcry of his men at such generosity.[2]

In contrast, William Hughs seems to have been an inept commander. In 1611, he seized two Dutch ships which were travelling in convoy from Russia with the William and Ralph of London. He refused to harm the London ship, and three of her sailors, including Thomas Watts, decided to join his band. . The next day, however, Hughs was forced by his crew to retake the William and Ralph, because Watts had spread the story that she was carrying 'eyght bagges of money as bigge as his thighe and a foote longe'. This was sufficient to rouse the pirate crew, who suspected that Hughs and his master, Peters, had received bribes to allow the William and Ralph to proceed unharmed. Although Watt's story proved unfounded, Hughs emerges as a captain who was at the mercy of his own men.[3] In the following year, when Middleton arrived at Mamora with James' pardon, Hughs wanted to hand over his loot and surrender, but he was prevented from doing so by his crew.[4]

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1 Supra, p.73.

2 H.C.A. 13/98/179: 16 April 1614.

3 H.C.A. 1/47/184-5: 26 April 1611.

4 H.C.A. 13/98/23-4: 27 January 1613.

The men who served in the Atlantic fleet seem to have enjoyed considerable freedom of action and to have moved from ship to ship with some ease. After Hussy had purchased the Black Raven from Captain Parker, her old crew did not continue in Hussy's service, but were dispersed throughout the fleet.[1] In 1610 there was a pirate working for the deputy vice-admiral of Munster who had in turn served as steward to Jennings, Easton and Francke.[2] The mobility of men within the fleet no doubt depended on the relationships between the captains, the particular needs of the moment and the men themselves. There was, however, some overall co-operation and control, for example, when Captain Stephenson gave his carpenter to another ship which was in need of one.[3] Bishop's title of admiral of the fleet was not purely nominal. After Jennings had been arrested, Williams, one of his men who had escaped, went straight to Bishop, who then assigned him to Captain Harris' ship.[4]

The surprisingly well-organized system which existed among the Atlantic pirates is reminiscent of the loyalty and unity of purpose which later grew up among the 'Brotherhood of the Coast' in the West Indies in the second half of the century.[5] No doubt the operations in the Atlantic were unregulated when compared to the elaborate code of the buccaneers -for example, they do not appear to have had any insurance system for their comrades who were wounded in battle. However, there are some traces of a system of punishment for mutiny and deceit, similar to that developed by the buccaneers, although sentences were

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1 H.C.A. 1/47/305: 9 August 1612.

2 H.C.A. 1/47/99: 17 April 1610.

3 H.C.A. 1/47/207: 26 June 1611.

4 H.C.A. 1/47/62: 8 December 1609.

5 See A.O. Exquemelin, The Buccaneers of America, 1969, Ch.7.

probably carried out in an arbitrary fashion, unsanctioned by any formal rules. After George Lea, one of Baugh's men, had laid hands on his captain, Baugh tried to have him executed on a trumped up charge of murder. The crew, however, refused to allow this, and Lea was finally put in a rowing-boat with one oar and some fresh water, and was towed to the bar at Mamora, where he was formally cast out from the pirate community and left to fend for himself.[1] Baugh seems to have been a particularly hard man under whom to serve. In May 1612, when he took the Bull of Dieppe, one of his men, Henry Orange, robbed a French merchant aboard the ship of precious stones reputed to be worth £20,000 and neglected to declare his loot. Orange was unable to contain his secret for long, however, and went ashore boasting that 'his breeches were as riche as the Lord Admirall's'. When Baugh learnt of this deceit Orange was imprisoned aboard the ship, his nails were cut out, and he was threatened with further torture unless he would reveal where he had hidden the jewels.[2]

It would be misleading to give the impression that pirates were models of obedience and order. They were desperate men, and as such, often behaved in the way which was graphically portrayed by John Smith:

> Many times, they had very good ships, and well manned, but commonly in such factions amongst themselves, and so riotous, quarrelous, treacherous, blasphemous and villanous, it is more than a wonder they could so long continue to doe so much mischieve; and all they got, they basely consumed it amongst Jewes, Turks, Moores and whores.[3]

Even the most famous pirate captains seem to have inspired scant loyalty amongst their followers. Thirty of Ward's best men deserted him in 1606, when he entrusted them with the John Baptist,[4] and a few

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1 H.C.A. 13/98/150-1: 16 December 1613.

2 H.C.A. 13/98/25, 29: 8, 24 February 1613. There were 611 jewels in a bag, including rubies, sapphires, topaz, emeralds and two ounces of marguerite. Orange escaped from Baugh after a few days, but he was arrested and convicted for the theft of the jewels (H.C.A. 1/6/113).

3 Capt. John Smith, Works 1608-1631, ed. Arber, p. 915.

4 H.C.A. 13/97/140: 25 March 1608.

years later, another forty-five ran off after a dispute, to offer their services to the Maltese.[1] There was no love lost between the Atlantic pirates and those of the Mediterranean, who were collaborating and working with the Mohammedans.[2] Within the Atlantic fleet itself, mutual co-operation often broke down to be replaced by factions dominated by greed and self-interest. Easton and Saxbridge both embarked on their careers as pirate captains in 1608, when they quarrelled with Captain Robinson and made off with two of his prizes.[3] In his turn, Easton received little devotion from his own men. In 1612, he was drinking aboard a Flemish prize with Wilmott, one of his captains, when forty of Wilmott's men, led by a Dutchman named Peters, stole away with the Falcon, one of Easton's prizes. Later that year, when Easton was in Newfoundland, John Wilmott left him and returned to England in the Lion Dore, and he was soon followed by Captain Holcomb and his men. Even William Harvy, who had been with Easton since the capture of the Concord in mid-1611, deserted after he had taken the Margaret of Washford.[4] Relations between Easton's captains were also strained. After Roope and Willoughby had fallen out Easton was forced to separate them by placing them in different ships.[5]

Pirate vessels operating near the English coast were likely to encounter difficulties from the less committed members of their crew. In 1615, Lawrence Mountain was roving on the east coast with a small band of pirates. He captured a Scottish ship of sixty tons, returning from Bordeaux laden with wine, and decided to use her as his man-of-war. However, when he sent five of his men to transfer some provisions into

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1 Barker, A True Report, p.19.

2 Supra, pp.67-8,72.

3 H.C.A. 13/97/209: 22 September 1608.

4 H.C.A. 1/47/278: 17 April 1612; 13/98/59-60: 14 June 1613.

5 H.C.A. 1/47/188: 7 May 1611.

the prize, they rowed towards the shore, and five others whom he sent in pursuit also made their getaway. The Scots, seeing that Mountain had only six men left, attacked the pirates, killed Mountain, and succeeded in recapturing their ship, bringing the six pirates prisoner into Hull.[1] William Clark encountered similar difficulties. After a successful cruise in Icelandic waters in 1614, Tise, one of his band, who was using the Red Hart of Copenhagen, went aboard Clark's ship, the Tiger, to 'make merry'. Unfortunately for Tise, his vessel contained more perforst fishermen than loyal pirates. Seizing their chance, they escaped in the Red Hart, despite Clark's attempts to catch them, and arrived safely at Harwich.[2]

There was often mistrust between the principal officers of a pirate ship, who kept much of the loot for themselves, and their company. When Captain Robinson came into Baltimore in the Bull, Bear and Horse, 180 tons, he and a few of his intimates were so close with the local officials that his crew, suspecting that they would be cheated out of their fair share, carried the ship out to sea.[3] In 1614, after John Johnson and a dozen accomplices had taken the Hope, Johnson was so frightened of his own men, who believed he had cheated them, that he was forced to lock up their muskets in the bread-room of the ship.[4]

Some captains only sailed together for convenience. Early in 1614, Captain Duppa purchased the Falcon and the Geranium at Leghorn, put Francke in command of one of them, and went to sea to take whatever

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1 H.C.A. 1/48/70-1: 6 March 1616.

2 H.C.A. 13/98/220: 13 September 1614.

3 When the crew put out to sea, Richard Jobson, the local deputy vice-admiral was on board. Luckily for him they were eventually persuaded to return to harbour (H.C.A. 1/47/104: 21 April 1610).

4 H.C.A. 13/98/236: 8 October 1614.

vessels he could. Francke hated Duppa, and only sailed with him because they were both serving the duke of Tuscany. One reason Francke and Duppa may not have got on was because the latter was, as one of the crew put it, 'a tufted taffeta Captaine'.[1]

Just how precarious an alliance could be is shown by the association of Tucker and Monnacho, two English captains who joined forces in the Faroes in 1615. Tucker's ship was wrecked soon afterwards, and he was immediately plundered by Monnacho, who 'had no more pity of him than of a Spaniard'. Monnacho, sensible of his treachery, was careful not to invite reprisals by using any of Tucker's men in his own ship, and sent them away in a fishing bark. From this epidode, Sir William Monson was able to draw the comforting moral that:

> ... the condition of such people is never to be constant or honest longer than their devilish humours hold ... [2]

Of course, it is only to be expected that commentators such as Monson and John Smith should have exaggerated the treachery and disorder which existed among pirates. What they, and others of some standing in the maritime community, did not care to admit, and what has never been fully recognised, is that pirates were professional seamen of some purpose and integrity who exhibited surprising qualities of co-operation and control - at any rate, while they were at sea. On many occasions they joined together to help each other out of a tight corner in times of danger or necessity. In August 1608, Captain Williamson, in the

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1 H.C.A. 1/48/48: 15 June 1615.

2 Monson, Tracts, V. 293-5. Monson was at pains to portray Tucker as a good English seamen and to brand Monnacho as a faithless pirate. However, it seems that Monson was deliberately mis-stating the facts of this episode to prove the treachery of pirates. His version is innaccurate in several details. Monnacho's real name was Captain Woodland and he went under the alias of Mendoza. The two pirates met in Ireland in March 1615, not in the Faroes, and they were not strangers, but had known each other for some time. When Tucker was examined in the High Court of Admiralty he made no mention of being spoiled by Woodland - indeed, he said he had received some wine from him when they were together in Ireland (H.C.A. 1/48/53-4: 22 July 1615).

king's ship, opened fire on Saxbridge's pirate vessel at Baltimore. However, Williamson had little time to concentrate on Saxbridge, for soon after he had gone to the attack,

> Captaine Jeninges and Captaine Bishoppe with theire shippes came downe to the saied Williamson, and anchored the one of his bowe and the other on his quarter within pistoll shott, And the said Williamson beeinge then as it seemed not fitt to fighte with them putt forthe a flagg of Truce ... [1]

The English pirates were also bound together by a fierce chauvinistic determination to avenge any of their comrades who suffered at the hands of Dutch rovers. In 1610, Simon Stoute and Peter Pecke, two Dutchmen, seized Captain Baugh's ship and goods when he came into Mamora, and sent him away in a small bark.[2] The same year, Captain Francke was robbed of all his goods by the Dutch and he and his crew were tortured. Consequently, five English captains banded together to take vengeance and defeated the Dutch at Mamora after a bloody battle which lasted for three days.[3] Relations between Dutch and English rovers did not improve after this. The Hollanders insisted on preying on England's shipping and maltreating English seamen, which brought them into open conflict with English pirates, who took a more sympathetic approach towards their own countrymen. As a result, the English seized the ships of some of the Dutch rovers and barred them from Mamora.[4]

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1 H.C.A. 13/97/202: 19 September 1608.

2 H.C.A. 1/47/193: 31 May 1611.

3 Supra, p.149. Although Bishop was at Mamora he refused to intervene on either side (H.C.A. 1/47/177-8: 9 April 1611).

4 Between July 1611 and February 1612, Peter Pecke and Captain John, operating from Rotterdam, took three fishing vessels of London, two west country barks, a ship of Bristol, and, most important, the Abigail of London which was trading to Guinea (H.C.A. 1/47/279: 24 April 1612). Peter Pecke and his brother Cornelius were scared to put into Mamora early in 1612, but they sent in a rich West Indies prize which was immediately seized by the English pirates (H.C.A. 1/47/276, 292: 9 April, 20 June 1612).

The successful pirate could hope to accumulate considerable riches for himself. Easton retired to Savoy, where he lived in great style at court and built himself a palace, while on the southern shore of the Mediterranean, Ward lived 'like a bashaw in Barbary',[1] and evidently carried himself with some style, for Andrew Barker wrote that,

> I doe not know any Peere in England that beares up his post in more dignitie, nor hath his Attendants more obsequious unto him.[2]

Some pirate captains and officers not only achieved great wealth, but managed to return with it to England. In 1603, after they had plundered the Black Balbiana of Venice, Thomas Tompkins and his men landed at Lymington. The twelve officers who were at the capture each received over £1,000, and Tompkins had £2,600 in silver, three hundredweight of cochineal and five gowns, besides large quantities of silk, damask and gold and silver cloth. He put his money in barrels and sent it into the country by cart. When he was finally apprehended seven years later, he claimed that he had given his brother 1,000 marks to procure a pardon under the great seal.[3] Another Captain who boasted of similar riches was Thomas Sockwell, who claimed to have offered James £20,000 for a pardon late in 1609, and to have given a friend £15,000 to procure it.[4] This was probably an exaggeration, although Sockwell

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1 Capt. John Smith, Works 1608-1631, ed. Arber, p. 914.

2 Barker, op.cit., p.16.

3 H.C.A. 1/47/96: 5 April 1610.

4 H.C.A. 1/47/112: 30 April 1610. The man who was entrusted to procure Sockwell's pardon was Edward Fitton of Cheshire. Fitton was known to have changed £500 of gold in Cheapside and to have sent a jewel to the lord treasurer (H.C.A. 13/98/72: 22 June 1613). James told the Venetians that one pirate had offered £40,000 for a pardon. The editor of the Venetian State Papers believed that the pirate in question was Ward, but it seems likely that it was Sockwell (C.S.P. Ven. 1607-10, p.430, Contarini and Correr to Doge and Senate, 25 February 1610).

certainly possessed considerable riches, for in the winter of 1608-9, he was travelling the country with a purse and two gilded waistcoats full of gold, as well as a 'cloak bag' containing two or three thousand pounds.[1] His lieutenant was also well-off, and had changed £50 worth of gold into silver at Nottingham Fair.[2] Money-changing and horse-trading were often indulged in by the more prosperous pirate.

Captains or ringleaders of pirate bands always came off much better than their men in the division of spoils. Many of Easton's followers returned to piracy or went home penniless. In August 1603, John Harper and his crew plundered the St. Paul of Toulon between Sicily and Malta, which was carrying the wardrobe of the new Venetian ambassador to England, Nicholas Molin. The rich apparel, hangings and ornaments were divided into three lots, of which Harper had one for himself. The remaining two-thirds were then auctioned at the mainmast for £95, which was divided amongst the crew. For his part in the capture of this fairly rich prize, Nicholas Woodcock received a mere £2.[3] The pirates who took the Nightingale of Middleburg near the North Foreland on 13 May 1613 extracted a ransom of £500 in gold and silver from the ship's master. Yet even though the ringleaders, Jonas Prophet and William Chester, ran no greater risk than their accomplices, they still took the lion's share of the profits. What small sums of money the pirates did take ashore did not last them for long. Of three who were arrested about a month later, William Isgrave had bought three suits of apparel with his £34, James Jackson had none of his £27 left, and Philip Halse, who had only received £20, had spent it on sea clothes and a cloak.[4]

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1 H.C.A. 13/97/283: 24 February 1609. Sockwell said he had taken a carvel near the Azores which he had sold at Mamora for £40,000, of which his share had been half (H.C.A. 1/47/112: 30 April 1610), yet the total value of goods which he was indicted for was less than £2,000.

2 H.C.A. 1/47/8-9: 19 May 1609.

3 Harper returned to England with £200. H.C.A. 1/5/26; 1/46/121, 154, 162: 25 April, 8 November 1604, 9 February 1605.

4 H.C.A. 1/6/97; 13/98/51, 54, 76: 4, 8, 29 June 1613.

Pirate crews were large and so shares were likely to be small. This was generally true even if a good prize was taken, because it was difficult to sell the booty at anything like its face value. Late in 1605, Our Lady of the Conception, laden with sugar, Brazil wood and spices worth £3,500, was captured by a Dutch privateer crewed by Englishmen. The master received £100 in reals of eight for his part, but the crew only had £10 a man.[1] Thomas Mitton, who was at the capture of the Soderina, whose value was estimated at £100,000, only received £60 as his share.[2] Very few pirate hands ever got much more than this, but even so, they stood to gain far more than they would have been paid for a legitimate voyage. Throughout James' reign, the wages for a common seaman in the navy remained static at ten shillings a month - the rate at which they had been fixed in 1585.[3] No officer, apart from the master of a royal vessel, could earn more than £2 a month, while the lowest paid rating, a gunner's mate, got a mere 11s. 3d.[4] Compared with these rates of pay, the rewards of piracy were handsome indeed.

Of course, the unsuccessful pirate got nothing,[5] and no doubt many soon dissipated what they had and ended up as little better than paupers. Some even lost their shares to their own ship-mates before they reached land. Philip Smith, one of the crew which plundered the Black Buck of Holland on the Norwegian coast in 1612, won 680 dollars

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1 H.C.A. 1/5/80; 1/46/237: 11 January 1606.

2 H.C.A. 13/39/227: 23 June 1608.

3 Oppenheim, Administration, pp.134, 197. The rate was raised to fourteen shillings a month in 1625.

4 Ibid., p.153. Oppenheim gives a table of officers' rates in 1602 which were changed in 1618. For officers' rates after 1625 see ibid., p.226.

5 In fact some Englishmen who sailed under foreign letters of marque were paid a wage. E.g. John Warren, the master of Jenning's pirate vessel, who received £20 for twenty day's service (H.C.A. 13/97/139: 24 March 1608). In 1614 men were recruited in London to serve under French letters of marque for £2/month and probably with a share in any booty which was taken (H.C.A. 13/98/241: 21 October 1614).

from the pirate crew playing dice - a considerable portion of the loot, which only amounted to 800 silver dollars and Hungarian gold ducats.[1] Thus many reaped no harvest from their lawless lives. Five years after Hainwaring's men had surrendered, it was reported that:

> The captains and people who came in at that time have remained, one may say, in a wretched condition.[2]

Even these pirates were probably no worse off than many law-abiding seamen.

It is impossible to try to measure the attractions of plunder in economic terms alone. There was always the excitement and anticipation of the pickings which a prize would yield, and the pirates were drawn by the prospects of new clothes and of other trivial possessions. The miserable life of the common English seaman seems to have made him a perpetual optimist. Hardship, the hazards of the sea, disease, and perhaps the least deterrent of all, the gallows, were of no importance when compared to the promise of pillage, for,

> ... there is nothing that more bewitcheth them, nor anything wherein they promise to themselves so loudly nor delight in more mainly.[3]

Not surprisingly there was little scope for outsiders to invest in piratical voyages. As long as the Dutch continued to issue letters of marque, some Englishmen tried to avail themselves of the opportunity for sending ships to sea in the old privateering style. However, the risks were great, because the pirates were unlikely ever to return to share their profits. Gerson Manning was a London Merchant Adventurer living at Middleburg in Holland, who tried to overcome this problem. He sent Dutch 'privateers' to sea in the name of Catherine de la Maior, his Dutch mistress, and ensured the ship's return by bribing several of

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1 H.C.A. 1/6/81; 1/47/308: 12 August 1612.

2 C.S.P. Ven. 1619-21, p.488, Contarini to Doge and Senate, 10 August 1620.

3 'Boteler's Dialogues', ed. W.G. Perrin, N.R.S. LXV (1929), p.37.

the crew to support their captain in bringing back their prizes to Holland. Manning's activities were eventually exposed and he was tried in the High Court of Admiralty.[1] In fact, the risks involved in financing pirates from England were prohibitive. In peacetime piracy was sometimes profitable if it could be combined with trading, but even then the chances of detection were so great that it was only undertaken in the disputed seas 'beyond the line', where illegal actions could be more easily justified.[2]

Thus, for all practical purposes, piracy was not a good investment for financiers who remained at home. In the outcome, however, much of the pirates' loot was eventually rested from them by men who had never shared any of the risks. Any number of people, including naval captains, vice-admirals and minor officers might be waiting in England to fleece the pirates on their return. William Wood of Lincolnshire, the steward of Captain Tompkins' ship, landed at the Isle of Wight late in 1603 and got passage homewards in a ketch bound for King's Lynn. His sea chest contained £120 in plate and forty yards of satin, some of

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1 H.C.A. 13/97/2-4, 42-5: 13 May, 15 August 1607. The ship Manning sent to sea was the Green Dragon of Flushing, Captain John Exton. He gave three members of the crew £10 shares in the venture in return for assisting Exton in case of mutiny or disagreements (H.C.A. 13/97/8: 15 May 1607). Manning was arrested on his return to England early in 1607 and tried on the evidence of some of Exton's men who had been poorly rewarded (H.C.A. 1/5/172; 1/46/337-9: 29 April 1607). Most interested parties in these illicit privateers sailed with their ships, like Simon Fage, a London merchant and owner and victualler of the Why Not I?, who went to sea in her in 1606 under the captaincy of his brother Arthur (H.C.A. 1/46/267: 19 July 1606).

2 For example, Lord Rich sent two ships to the East Indies in 1616 with a secret commission from the duke of Savoy, authorising them to plunder the vessels of the infidel (H.C.A. 1/48/207: 13 January 1619). See also supra, pp.16-17.

which he had won from his comrades during the voyage. When the ketch put in at Gorleston, he was arrested by John Ives, an admiralty officer, and John Owles, the local constable, on suspicion of piracy, because he was 'spendinge Spanishe liberally.' However, while these two officers were taking him to the local J.P., Wood bribed them with twenty-four French crowns and twenty yards of satin and was subsequently released. Yet this did him little good. He also had to bribe the master and crew of the ketch to hide his loot and not to reveal that he was a pirate. They then set sail for King's Lynn, but Ives and Owles would not rest until they had got their hands on all of Wood's loot, and riding overland, they met the ketch at King's Lynn, where they and the crew robbed Wood of everything he had and threatened to kill him. Of course Wood was in no position to take any action against his persecutors.[1]

Thus the hunter at sea could easily become the hunted on land, and a rich pirate was fair game for any predatory official. Captain Harris and his crew of fifty lost the £1,100 they received from the capture of the Margaret of Morbihan, when they were arrested in Ireland by Sir William St. John in 1609.[2] When Captain Barry came in at Berehaven in August 1615, he handed over £750 of his own loot to the vice-admiral and his crew followed suit, in the hope of being able to buy their freedom.[3] Pirates often tried to escape detection by sewing their money into their clothes or hiding it in their seamen's breeches, but

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1 H.C.A. 1/46/84-5, 129-31: 19 January, 3, 18 May 1604.

2 The ship was captured by Bishop who had £1,000. Harris kept £300 and the crew had £800 to divide amongst themselves (H.C.A. 1/47/61: 8 December 1609).

3 Supra, p.95.

many were still detected.[1] The early Stuart official evidently had a better nose for money than he did for criminals.

The men who made the greatest profits out of piracy were also those who took the least risks - the entrepreneurs and receivers, who trafficked with the pirates under the guise of innocent traders, either at home or abroad - especially in Ireland and North Africa. Hundreds of men in the western ports boarded the St. Hubert, alias the Golden Calf, after she had been captured by pirates in Portsmouth harbour with a cargo of hollands, says, lawns and cambrics worth £10,000. She resembled a floating market place more than a pirate ship.[2] Many men made a handsome profit, including Richard Boniton, a cousin of the vice-admiral of Cornwall, who did so well that it was thought that 'he might bee the better for all the daies of his life.'[3] The most notorious case of illicit trafficking was that of the Husband of London, which was coming from Tunis and was stayed in December 1607, when she put in at Dartmouth on her way to Flanders with indigo, raw silk and other commodities worth between thirty and forty thousand crowns. The Venetians claimed that her cargo was part of the loot from the Soderina, which had been taken by Ward earlier that year.[4] They saw this as a trial case to prevent illegal trading in pirate goods, whether it was carried on directly with the pirates or through middlemen in Barbary. The Venetians had some initial success, and two similar ships were sequestered on suspicion of

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1 When Thomas French was arrested he had £105 'quilted in his breeches and sowed in his dublett' (H.C.A. 1/47/5: 8 May 1609). Sir Arthur Chichester, reporting the pilfering of goods from aboard a pirate ship, wrote 'It is not to be doubted but the small ends (which were the best commodities) were carried away in the shipmen's great breeches.' (C.S.P. Ir. 1608-10, p.187, Chichester to Council, 7 April 1609.)

2 H.C.A. 1/5/67; 13/97/145, 156-7: 20 April, 9 May 1608.

3 H.C.A. 1/47/294-5: 13 July 1612.

4 H.C.A. 13/97/103-4: 27 December 1607.

trading with pirates. However, when the case finally dragged to a conclusion three years later the Venetians had only received 3,500 ducats (less than £1,000) in compensation, and had expended a similar sum on legal fees.[1] James tried to stop trade with Algiers and Tunis by a proclamation of 1609,[2] but this was impossible to enforce and it continued to thrive. Thus it seems likely that the main beneficiaries of piracy were the merchants and other opportunists who trafficked in pirate goods, rather than the pirates themselves.[3]

Therefore, with a few brilliant exceptions, the majority of pirates failed to make their fortunes, although most of them spent only a few years in piracy and never suffered for their crimes. They were not failures, since being a seaman in seventeenth century England meant being doomed to a miserable life in any case. There is a danger of over-reacting against the popular romantic image of piracy. Pirates were not all squalid thieves who ended up penniless and dissolute. Many brought considerable flair to their way of life. Certainly there was a profusion of all the vices normally associated with pirates - drunkeness, whoring, gambling, hard-fighting, torture and general debauchery - but they did not have a monopoly of such things. What is surprising are the qualities of order and organization which existed, especially amongst the ships of the English pirate fleet in the Atlantic, and the moderation which English pirates often exercised in committing their spoils. This was, perhaps, one of the main reasons that they were able to defy capture by all nations and to maintain their power at sea for as long as they did.

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1 For the proceedings in this case see C.S.P. Ven. 1607-10, pp. 11, 128, 130, 135, 141, 157, 161, 177, 198, 229, 323, 364, 368, 456, 719, 793, 880. The Venetians were to receive 16,000 crowns for goods proven to be theirs, and 34,000 crowns was to be deposited by the merchants as surety for the doubtful remnant. However, the merchants refused to pay and the common law courts ruled that the admiralty court had no right to pledge the property of private citizens. James and Salisbury refused to support the Venetians at this juncture and the matter was allowed to lapse.

2 Steele, Tudor and Stuart Proclamations, I no. 1070.

3 Infra, p.327.

CHAPTER VII

GOVERNMENT ATTEMPTS TO SUPPRESS PIRACY

When James Stuart inherited the throne of England he also inherited the problem of how best to curb the piratical activities of his new subjects both at home and abroad. Yet in 1603, the suppression of piracy could not be considered a task which was the sole responsibility of the government. Elizabeth had sent out forces in pursuit of pirates from time to time, but she had taken care to see that the cost of naval protection was borne by her subjects whenever possible.[1] It is doubtful whether Elizabeth ever thought that losses sustained by her merchants or subjects were any reason why she herself should incur additional expenditure.

There can be no doubt that James, unlike Elizabeth, was always sincere in his intentions to suppress piracy. Throughout his reign he constantly deplored the depredations of lawless English seamen. He was a king who had a love of legality and order, and who desired peace in Europe, and pirates were the epitome of everything that he hated. Even as king of Scotland, James had been concerned about the friction which piracy had caused with England, and had referred to it in 1586 in his proposals for dual citizenship of the two countries.[2] Shortly before Elizabeth's death, James' agent in London told the Venetian secretary that when James became king of England, he intended to stop 'this general buccaneering'.[3] James never gave merchants or foreign ambassadors reason to believe that piracy was not totally abhorrent to

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1 See Oppenheim, Administration, pp. 177-8.

2 H.M.C. Salisbury, III. 209.

3 C.S.P. Ven. 1592-1603, p. 560, Giovanni Carlo Scaramelli to Doge and Senate, 27 March 1603.

him. When some English pirates were captured and executed by the Venetians in 1608, the Venetian ambassador noticed that most Englishmen greeted the news with some regret, but that 'the King ... and all who love order and quiet are pleased.'[1] Sometimes even the ambassadors who came to complain directly to James found his righteousness pompous and boring. He liked to compare his refusal to pardon pirates in return for bribes with the shortcomings of other monarchs, and in discussing pirates, he 'dwelt at great length on his hatred of such folk, many of whom he had put to death.'[2]

Unfortunately the Privy Council did not share the king's enthusiasm for the extermination of pirates, since piracy was never the most pressing affair of state. Indeed, Cecil treated the whole question as merely the aftermath of war which did not merit his attention, and he wanted every complaint to be handled by the admiralty.[3]

For the government the most frustrating aspect of any attempt to suppress piracy was the fact that the pirates who did most damage were precisely those men who were beyond its control. The rich prizes which fell to the deep-sea pirates operating in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic sparked off a stream of complaints from foreign merchants and ambassadors in London which caused considerable embarrassment to the government. Yet unless a pirate was captured in England or brought home for trial, there was little action which could be taken, short of mounting a special expedition. In 1609, when depredations in the Mediterranean had reached an intolerable level, James talked of sending a royal ship or contributing 20,000 crowns to help the Levant Merchants

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1 C.S.P. Ven. 1607-10, p. 133, Zorzi Giustinian to Doge and Senate, 14 May 1608.

2 Ibid., p.430, Francesco Contarini and Marc Antonio Correr to Doge and Senate, 25 February 1610.

3 Ibid., pp. 101-2, Scaramelli to Doge and Senate, 5 October 1603, p.160, Nicolo Molin to Doge and Senate, 23 June 1604.

to suppress piracy, but his promises were not generally believed and never materialised.[1] Financial considerations made it impossible for James to send royal ships in pursuit of English marauders far from home. Thus, the government's pirate-catching activities were largely confined to British waters, which meant that practically no deterrent to deep-sea piracy existed.

The government was primarily concerned with combatting piracy in two main areas: the south-west peninsula, which was the most important part of England for the disposal of booty plundered overseas, and Ireland, which was one of the most important bases of the Atlantic rovers. This chapter is therefore concerned mainly with James' attempts to suppress piracy in these areas. By Charles' reign English piracy had largely died out and the government faced entirely different problems at sea, although naval captains were still plagued by the depredations of foreign rovers.[2]

No sooner had James become king than he officially ended privateering and tried to control piracy by a spate of proclamations. In April 1603 all letters of marque were recalled and a proclamation of June denounced all future capture of Spanish ships as piracy.[3] Nevertheless, complaints continued to pour in. A proclamation was issued on 30 September which aimed at destroying the support that pirates received in England. Owners and victuallers were to answer with their lives, lands and goods for the actions of those they sent to sea. Trade with pirates was forbidden, and vice-admirals were directed, on pain of a £40 fine, to stay ships which were unduly armed as well as to report on the movements of any men-of-war.[4]

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1 Ibid., pp. 379, 405, Correr to Doge and Senate, 12 November 1609, 8 January 1610.

2 Supra, p.204 et seq.

3 Steele, Tudor and Stuart Proclamations, I. xciv.

4 Ibid., I no. 972. Convicted pirates were refused the right of appeal unless they gave security to the plaintiffs.

Many privateers, unable to adjust to these peace-time conditions, went to serve under Dutch letters of marque. The ties between the two protestant maritime countries, united for so long by their hatred of Spain, were difficult to sever. Dutchmen had always found succour in English ports, while many Englishmen had lived in Holland and sailed in the Dutch privateers which continued to frequent the south coast.[1] Dutch letters of marque played an important part in the germination of deep-sea piracy. They provided an ideal pretext for equipping ships in a warlike fashion - ships which would-be pirates could then use in order to establish themselves and extend their depredations to more distant seas. In 1604, Nottingham wrote to Salisbury about some English men-of-war which were hovering outside Plymouth carrying Dutch commissions, warning that:

> These men that go out in this sort make their ships ready in the north parts, and victual themselves in the Low countries ... assure yourself if this be suffered, there will be more pirates in the Straits than ever was, and then what complaints we shall daily have you can judge.[2]

Certainly in 1604 many Englishmen were engaged in victualling, arming and manning ships to sail under the commissions of Maurice of Nassau. In the summer of that year, Captain Thomas Pin sailedin the Grace from Plymouth to Flanders, where he procured a commission from the Grave Maurice and armed his ship with powder and shot. He then returned to Cawsand Bay near Plymouth and was victualled by William Swinsbury, a merchant of the city. Supplementing his crew at Plymouth and Weymouth,

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1 E.g. John Jennings, who in 1605 had been living in Flushing for about two years (H.C.A. 1/46/184: 11 May 1605). The boatswain of Jenning's pirate ship was Henry, a Dutchman who lived at St. Catherine's (H.C.A. 1/46/239: 20 January 1606).

2 H.M.C. Salisbury, XVI. 258, [before 20 August].

Pin went to sea and took a ship of Jersey off the Scilly Isles laden with cinnamon, sugar loaves, pepper and comfits. The Grace then returned to Cawsand Bay where Swinsbury was paid off for his share in the venture, and the English crew were set ashore with their loot at Plymouth and Weymouth.[1]

These Dutch 'privateers' and the English sailors who sailed in them had a dubious legal status, and the uncertainty of the situation was exploited by the coastal population and encouraged by the vice-admirals. Captain Albretson, a Dutch privateer, sold his booty at Fowey, trimmed and victualled his ship, and took in fifteen fresh men. For his favour in permitting this, Francis Vivian, the vice-admiral, received a butt of wine.[2] Some officers even went as far as enlisting the aid of the privateers. Captain Earlsfield, the deputy vice-admiral of Southampton, used two Dutch privateers in an attempt to arrest George and Henry Doting who were suspected of complicity in 'this late horrible treason' (the Gunpowder Plot).[3] Sir Noel Caron, the Dutch ambassador in England, had a third share in one of these ships, the Vineyard, captained by John Jennings, an Englishman.[4]

In view of the tolerance of officials, some men never doubted that it was legal to continue to serve under Dutch letters of marque after the war. Arthur Pett, the master of an English merchant ship, rescued Jennings and his mixed Anglo-Dutch crew from a sinking prize and landed the pirates safely at Falmouth. When questioned before the admiralty court as to why he had let them go, Pett said he saw nothing wrong in his action at the time since he thought it was still legal to serve the Dutch.[5]

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1 H.C.A. 1/46/194, 208-9: 27 June, 5 November 1605.

2 H.C.A. 1/47/52: 13 November 1609.

3 H.C.A. 1/46/223-4: 10 December 1605.

4 H.C.A. 1/46/235: 11 January 1606.

5 H.C.A. 1/46/238-9: 20 January 1606.

Thus the situation in 1604 was almost as if peace had never been proclaimed. Dutch privateers were arming and victualling in English harbours and were selling their booty ashore, while English seamen devoted themselves wholeheartedly to the Dutch cause.[1] This was embarrassing for James, as it raised complicated questions of England's duties as a neutral towards belligerents who carried their conflict into British waters.[2]

In March 1605, James therefore issued another proclamaton, this time forbidding English seamen to engage in service with foreign states. Rules were laid down for the treatment of belligerents using English harbours, and a map was promised which would delimit British waters.[3] This can have had little effect, for on 7 June the port officers were informed by the Council that the Spanish ambassador had complained that, due to their negligence, the proclamation was not being observed and that they would be held personally responsible for any future damages done by pirates.[4] With a view to rectifying the situation, a further proclamation was issued on 8 July 1605, which specifically stated that English seamen who persisted in serving other states, and Holland in

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1 Notall English sailors took the Dutch side. John Allen and Thomas Lawrence both went to Dunkirk during the last years of the war. They sailed out of Dunkirk under Spanish letters of marque on privateering voyages against England and Holland. Both eventually became captains of Dunkirk privateers, and Allen had even sailed up the Thames and spoiled ships at Lee and Margate. (H.C.A. 1/46/104-5, 115-8: 28 March, 21 April 1604.)

2 R.G. Marsden, 'The High Court of Admiralty in Relation to National History, Commerce and the Colonisation of America A.D. 1550-1650', T.R.H.S., New Series, vol. XVI (1902), pp. 76-7.

3 Steele, op.cit., I. xciv.

4 H.M.C. Salisbury, XVII. 243. James refused to accede to Spanish demands to forbid the Dutch use of English ports, but he took serious note of the 'great slackness shown in the execution of the proclamations.'

particular, would be treated as pirates. Any foreign warships manned by British subjects entering British ports were to be stayed, the offenders seized without bail and the admiralty notified. Aiders, abettors and receivers were also to be suppressed. No vessels were to leave British shores with warlike provisions, and goods were only to be purchased from well-known merchants.[1]

Thus by mid-1605 the law was perfectly clear. Seamen could no longer plead ignorance or foreign letters of marque to excuse their depredations. Any future assaults by English seamen would constitute piracy. Even that champion of the common law, Sir Edward Coke, held proclamations to be as binding as statutes at law when the state or the wealth of the kingdom was endangered.[2] The legal machinery for dealing with piracy had been adequate since the reform of criminal procedure under Henry VIII.[3] The real problem after 1605 was the apprehension and punishment of offenders.

The man chiefly responsible for proceeding against pirates and their accomplices was the lord high admiral. He was an important member of the Privy Council and acted as its mouthpiece in matters pertaining to piracy. For most of James' reign this office was held by the earl of Nottingham. His chief executive officers in the country were the vice-admirals of the coast,[4] who usually received their office as a gift from the lord admiral or purchased it as a profit-making concern. They were responsible for implementing proclamations on maritime affairs and for

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1 Steele, op. cit., I. no. 1014.

2 Ibid., I. xxxi.

3 Supra, p.21.

4 I have taken the following material on the vice-admirals from two articles by R.G. Marsden, 'The Vice-Admirals of the Coast', E.H.R. XXII (1907), esp. pp. 474-7 and XXIII (1908), esp. p. 737.

carrying out the directions of the Privy Council and of the admiralty.[1] Although their duties included the apprehension of pirates and their accomplices, they were not empowered to try them, except by virtue of a commission of oyer and terminer. Most men who were arrested on suspicion of piracy were sent to London for trial before the lord admiral's lieutenant, who was the judge of the High Court of Admiralty.

Marsden's assessment of the admiralty officers was unfavourable:

> Sometimes, perhaps, the vice-admirals of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries may have acted as a check upon the piratical and wrecking propensities of the sea-coasters, but in the main they were probably no better than their contemporaries.[2]

Certainly there seems little reason whey they should have been, as appointments were usually for life and bore no relation to their abilities. Their primary concern was with the extortion of the droits due to the lord admiral, of which they received 50%, or more if they were able to cheat the admiral out of his share. Most officials were understandably more zealous in seeking out pirate booty than they were in arresting the offenders themselves. Although many of them boarded pirate vessels in an effort to induce pirates to restore their booty, to surrender, or to receive pardons (so they claimed), none appear to have suffered any physical injury.

Nottingham was not slow to recognise that the main obstacle to the suppression of piracy lay in the corruption of the very officials who were entrusted with the task. In 1604, he wrote to the Privy Council:

> I would the King's officers and mine would join together to do their best, and that is the true way to cut them off.[3]

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1 Steele, op. cit., I. xciv.

2 E.H.R. XXII (1907), p. 475.

3 H.M.C. Salisbury, XVI. 203, 6 August [1604].

Yet Nottingham was pessimistic about ever making the coastal inhabitants completely law-abiding, and admitted that 'I do not look to live to see England or France free of pirates.'[1]

In the years following peace with Spain, the ports of the south-west were in constant use by English pirates. The name of one officer in particular was constantly linked with their activities, that of Sir Richard Hawkins, only son of Sir John Hawkins, appointed vice-admiral of Devon on 31 July 1603. Within a few years, Sir Richard's conduct as vice-admiral had aroused criticism from the French, the Spanish and the Venetian ambassadors. In June 1604, the French ambassador alleged that Hawkins had released members of the crew of Captain Hull, who had plundered a French vessel in the Mediterranean,[2] and in April 1605, Sir Julius Caesar was forced to accede to the Spanish ambassador's demand for a commission of investigation into all Spanish prizes which had been brought into Devon since the end of the war. As a result of these complaints, Hawkins was called to London.[3] The Venetian ambassador also charged him with receiving booty from the St. Paul of Toulon, plundered by John Harper and his men between Sicily and Malta on 19 August 1603, as she was bringing the wardrobe of the Venetian ambassador to England.[4]

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1 Ibid.

2 B.M. Add. MS. 5664, f.397, Hawkins to Caesar, 2 June 1604.

3 B.M. Lansd. MS. 139, f.204, Caesar's reply to the complaints of the Spanish ambassador, 22 April; S.P. 94/11/52-69, complaints exhibited by Villa Medina; S.P. 94/11/36-7, 'Answers to the complaynts exhibited by the Spanish Ambassadour.'

4 B.M. Lansd. MS. 140, f.449, Hawkins to Caesar, 27 June 1605; H.C.A. 1/5/26.

Damaging allegations were made in the High Court of Admiralty concerning Hawkins' involvement with Harper's crew. On their return to England, some of the pirates had shipped aboard the bark of one Captain Fall, in order to come home unnoticed, but the bark had been arrested by Hawkins together with most of the Venetian ambassador's possessions.[1] John Thomason, a Plymouth gentleman, testified that he had seen the pirates' ship brought to a quay behind Hawkins' house and that rich hangings had then been unloaded into a warehouse. He also testified that Fall had told him that he had given Hawkins his own bark, together with some rich gowns and hangings, and that Hawkins in return had given him £40 and had promised to free him 'from further troubles for that cause.'[2]

The cumulative effect of these various accusations was enough to stir the lord admiral to action. On 29 May 1606, Nottingham directed Caesar to draw up a commission for his secretary, Humphrey Jobson, to investigate and report on the corruption in the vice-admiralty of Devon. However, the strong line taken by Nottingham was probably due mainly to his concern for his own droits in pirate booty, for Jobson was instructed to receive all goods from pirate ships pertaining to the lord admiral.[3] The commission empowered Jobson to examine the vice-admiral's accounts as well as to arrest, interrogate, bail and arrange compositions.[4]

Hawkins appears to have been undeterred by the attention which he had aroused. In mid-1606, when Jobson's enquiry was under way, the pirate ship of Moy Jaques, which was at Salcombe, was borded by William Worswick and William Lee, two of Hawkins' servants. It later emerged that Hawkins had supplied the pirates' needs, had received booty from

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1 H.C.A. 1/46/134: 21 May 1604.

2 H.C.A. 1/46/185-6: 15 May 1605.

3 H.C.A. 14/38/113; B.M. Lansd. MS. 145, f.43, Nottingham to Caesar, 29 May 1606.

4 B.M. Lansd. MS. 145, f.44, 30 May 1606. The commission also included the vice-admiralty of Cornwall.

them and had released prisoners guilty of trafficking with them.[1] Not only did Hawkins continue his associations with pirates during the enquiry, but at one time he even arrested Jobson.[2]

The investigation may have gone some way to appeasing Nottingham's desire to receive his share of sequestered pirate booty, but it achieved little else. As a patron of Hawkins, Nottingham did not want to oust him from his vice-admiralty, but Hawkins' conduct of his office had aroused so many powerful enemies that Nottingham could not afford to ignore his offences. Accordingly, on 12 August 1606, Hawkins was suspended as vice-admiral of Devon and his duties were assumed by James Bagg and Mr. Harris, 'untyll such tyme as Sir Richard shall have purged himself of those fowle imputations![3] The situation looked serious for

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1 H.C.A. 1/46/270-1, 277: 25 July, 8 August 1606; appendix III, articles 9, 10, 11.

2 M.M. Oppenheim, The Maritime History of Devon, ed. W.E. Minchinton, Torquay, 1968, p.58. At another time swords were drawn after Jobson had called Worswick 'sawcy Jack or knave' (H.C.A. 1/46/272: 25 July 1606).

3 H.C.A. 14/39/204, Nottingham to William Harewood. Oppenheim's detestation of James Bagg, 'one of the meanest men of his generation', led him to conclude that Hawkins probably made no profits from piracy and that he was dismissed as vice-admiral as a result of Bagg's desire to get the office for himself (Oppenheim, op.cit., p.58). Bagg was certainly no friend to Hawkins, and 'reported publikelie in the hall of Plimouth that Sir Richard Hawkyns had latelie receaved a thousand markes of pirates.' (B.M. Lansd. MS. 142, f. 340.) Nevertheless, Hawkins emerged from the commission of 1608 as one of the most corrupt officers in the south-west (infra, pp.280-1). Bagg's hands were not entirely clean, for in 1607 and 1612 he purchased pirate booty at Plymouth, the profits from which may have gone some way to earning him the nickname of 'Money Bags.' (H.C.A. 1/46/332: 13 April 1607; 13/98/22: 27 January 1613.)

Hawkins, for on 20 August Nottingham gave orders to investigate the accusations of corruption as thoroughly as possible, 'for the French doth offer to probe verry gret matters agaynst him.'[1] Somehow, Hawkins must have managed to 'purge himself' temporarily, for in April 1607 he was reinstated as vice-admiral.[2]

All that Jobson's commission had really achieved had been to postpone a thorough investigation of admiralty corruption for a few years. Jobson himself was certainly not above using his office for financial gain and even Nottingham appears to have acquiesced in many of the illegal measures employed by vice-admirals in dealing with pirates.[3] It soon became apparent that admiralty affairs needed to be thoroughly investigated by disinterested parties.

Hawkins' corruption was symptomatic of a wider malaise which affected admiralty officers throughout the south-west. The situation in Cornwall, where the vice-admiralty of the southern part was in the hands of Hannibal Vivian and his son Francis, was little better than in Devon. In August 1606, despite the protests of the sergeant of the admiralty at Fowey, John Downes and his pirate crew had been allowed to remain unmolested in harbour for five weeks, thanks to the favour shown them by Hannibal Vivian and by John Rushley, who purported to act as Vivian's deputy at Fowey. The fact that it was well known in Fowey that Vivian and Rushley had aided pirates did not appear to worry the two men, who received a pipe of wine, a chest of sugar and several bolts of Holland cloth from Downes for being so co-operative.[4]

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1 H.C.A. 14/39/184.

2 H.C.A. 14/37/113.

3 <u>Infra,</u> pp.283-4.

4 H.C.A. 13/98/194-5: 8 June 1614. In the following years Rushley and Francis Vivian purchased sugar, pepper and cinnamon which had been smuggled out of Ireland, and Rushley also took a silver chain from a pirate who had been arrested by the deputy sergeant of the admiralty at Fowey and then released him (<u>ibid.</u>).

In 1607, Hannibal Vivian's activities landed him in trouble with the admiralty. In March of that year he went to Helford with fifteen men-at-arms, where, at the house of one Cockerham, he arrested Captain John Jennings, Captain Isaac, and twenty other pirates, whose ships were then riding in the bay. He freed all the pirates, however, except for Jennings, whom he later released when Jenning's ship-mates had raised a ransom for him. In November, Vivian appeared before the High Court of Admiralty to explain his action and made many excuses, the most credible of which was that he had released the pirates in order to appease their companions, who had three ships at Helford and numbered 250 men.[1] Hannibal was also questioned about the conduct of his son Francis, who had arrested the pirate Robert Duncomb at Falmouth, but who had released him because, as Hannibal claimed, he had not known him to be a pirate at the time.[2] Hannibal Vivian's examination can have done little to reassure Nottingham about his conduct as vice-admiral of South Cornwall, but, as in the case of Hawkins, the lord admiral appears to have thought it unnecessary to take any further action.

Further east, the Dorset coast, which had been purged of pirates in Elizabeth's reign, was again buzzing with piratical activity. On 10 June 1607, Lord Bindon informed Salisbury that Weymouth men had boarded pirate ships and that pirates had been entertained in Portland Castle.[3] Bindon blamed such incidents on neglect of duty by deputy vice-admirals, port officers and inferior officers of the custom-house, and concluded:

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1 H.C.A. 13/97/74-7: 14 November 1607. See also Jenning's version of the incident, B.M. Cott. MS. Otho E VIII, f. 364.

2 H.C.A. 13/97/76: 14 November 1607.

3 H.M.C. Salisbury, XIX. 151.

> Let those officers do their duty, and Portland Castle be better looked unto, then merchants shall want just cause of complaint. Portland Castle is the only place of refuge, and a very nursery accounted these many years for giving succour to all pirates.[1]

Yet Bindon himself was not beyond reproach. Late in 1606 he had arrested a Portuguese carvel, brought into Weymouth by pirates, but had neglected to inform Nottingham of his action. The matter only became public when four of the Portuguese crew reached London and procured a sentence of restitution from the High Court of Admiralty. Bindon, however, refused to restore the ship or her cargo and arrested the men who tried to enforce the court's decision.[2] He probably only relinquished his prize after the Spanish ambassador had complained directly to James, and Salisbury had written advising him to give the Portuguese satisfaction.[3]

In 1608, James decidëd to intervene to stem the numerous complaints to which he and the Privy Council had been continually subjected since the peace with Spain. It was glaringly apparent that many men in England were actively engaged in dealings with pirates and that the vice-admirals and their underlings were amongst the worst offenders. Therefore, on 21 May, the Council instructed Nottingham to issue general piracy commissions to ten leading citizens in each maritime county, empowering them to investigate, without respect of persons, all matters relating to piracy since 20 April 1603.[4] The commissioners were directed to arrest and bail offenders, to confiscate all pirate booty and especially to inquire,

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1 Ibid., p.399.

2 Ibid., p.512, Don Pedro de Zuniga to Privy Council, [c. November 1607].

3 Ibid., pp. 310-11, 1 November 1607.

4 H.C.A. 14/39/217. The draft of the commission applies to Cornwall, but commissions were also sent to Devon, Dorset, Somerset, Sussex, Southampton, Essex, Lincoln, Yorkshire, Suffolk, Glamorgan, Norfolk, Kent and Pembroke (H.C.A. 14/39/218).

> ... what Piratts and sea rovers his, or their recevors, aydors, comfoiters or abetters have bin apprehended and taken by any viceadmiralls or other inferior officers or other his majisties officers ministers Subjects; what agreements or Compositions have bin made with them or any their associatts and Company; where and by whome and for what and how they or any of them have bin released or sett at libertie.[1]

The commissioners were directed to keepthe admiralty informed of their progress, and their findings were to be submitted to the Privy Council not later than Michaelmas day (29 September) 1608.

Sir Richard Hawkins at first resisted the investigations of the piracy commissioners, who were headed by John Randal, a man whom Hawkins had previously prosecuted for perjury in a case which the Spanish ambassador had brought against Hawkins in Star Chamber.[2] However, Hawkins' numerous offences were soon laid bare. In May 1609 he was tried in Star Chamber 'for misdemeanors as Vice-Admiral in favouring of piracy,'[3] /'by allmost a Jury of Judges'.[4] and condemned His main offence had been to use his office for his own personal gain without regard for justice. He had sold pardons to pirates, released them after confiscating their booty, and on some occasions had even given discharges under his own hand and seal.[5] Late in 1609 Hawkins had been called to the admiralty court to give evidence in the case of William Mynnes, a Plymouth surgeon, whose crime of piracy he had once compounded. However, instead of testifying against Mynnes, 'he spake then much in his favour, to the

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1 H.C.A. 14/39/217.

2 S.P. 14/36/21, Hawkins to Nottingham and other lords of the Privy Council, 18 September 1608. Hawkins bitterly complained that: 'I have ever to doe with Ambassadors, which without procuration or any lawfull right to owne the /pirate/ goods by marke, or otherwyse, make themselves parties'.

3 H.M.C. Third Report, p. 56.

4 S.P. 14/36/22, Hawkins to Salisbury.

5 Appendix III.

great dislike of the Judges which then sate on the bench.'[1] Early in 1610 Hawkins was dismissed as vice-admiral of Devon[2] and on 30 January he wrote from prison to Sir Julius Caesar, begging his release and the remission of the fine that had been imposed on him.[3]

From evidence given in the High Court of Admiralty in 1608, it appeared that Hawkins was not the only offender in the south-west. One of the general piracy commissioners declared that they had discovered great scandals and, in his own words, 'almost revolution'.[4] In September Gilbert Layton, who had been lieutenant to the pirate Captain Muckill, testified that when the pirates had been at Helford, Francis Vivian had sent gunpowder to their ship, purchased their goods and even allowed them to go ashore to sell their booty.[5] Francis, who had succeeded his father as vice-admiral of South Cornwall, appeared before the court in December 1608 to answer Layton's accusations. He defended himself as best he could, but then refused to answer further questions, 'beinge against the rule of reason to accuse him selfe.'[6] Examinations taken earlier that year also revealed that William Restarrock, vice-admiral of North Cornwall, and John Bishop, his deputy at Padstow, had received bribes from members of Muckill's crew and had confiscated their loot without taking any proceedings against them.[7]

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1 Appendix III. Mynnes had been one of the crew of the Concord of Plymouth, which had plundered an unknown French vessel on 20 December 1604 (H.C.A. 1/6/12). He had come into Cawsand Bay and compounded his crime with Hawkins and an admiralty commissioner named Burnell for twenty marks.

2 Marsden, E.H.R. XXIII (1908), p.740, n.32.

3 B.M. Lansd. MS. 145, f. 41.

4 C.S.P. Ven. 1607-10, p.192, Correr and Giustinian to Doge and Senate, 20 November 1608.

5 H.C.A. 13/97/212: 28 September 1608.

6 H.C.A. 13/97/249: 2 December 1608.

7 H.C.A. 13/97/145: 20 April 1608. Bishop had arrested three of the pirates when they landed at Padstow and released them for a bribe of forty-one shillings. They were re-arrested by Restarrock, who took their booty and released them on bail.

In 1609, as a result of the abuses discovered by the general piracy commission, a special commission comprising many eminent names was appointed under the great seal to hear all complaints relating to piracy.[1] On 20 July orders were sent to John Randal and David Rowden to arrest Hannibal Vivian, William Restarrock and many others, 'as well within exempte and privileged places as without', and to imprison them and take bonds for their appearance before the commissioners in the Exchange Chamber at Westminster Hall on 2 October 1609.[2] On 11 September, Randal wrote to Caesar informing him of the success of his operations in the south-west. Even the most powerful men in Devon and Cornwall had been unable to escape detection, and Randal could report that fifteen or sixteen pirates, along with 150 aiders and abettors, had been sent before the Privy Council.[3] In fact, Hannibal Vivian failed to appear before the commissioners at Westminster, and James ordered the gentry of Cornwall to take his examination and send it to London before 1 December 1609.[4] It seems unlikely that Vivian escaped censure, for soon afterwards Lord Knollys demanded that Vivian forfeit his property for being a receiver of pirate goods.[5]

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1 H.C.A. 14/40/155. They were Charles, earl of Nottingham, Edward Lord Zouch, Lord Kinlosse, master of the rolls, Sir John Herbert, second secretary, Sir Julius Caesar, chancellor and under treasurer of the Exchequer, Sir Thomas Parry, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, Sir Thomas Foster, a judge of the King's Bench, Sir John Crook, judge of Common Pleas, Sir James Altham, a baron of the Exchequer, Sir Daniel Dunn, judge of the High Court of Admiralty, Sir Christopher Parkins, one of the masters of Requests, Sir John Bennet, chancellor, and Sir John Doderidge, sergeant-at-law.

2 Ibid.

3 B.M. Lansd. MS. 145, f. 139.

4 H.C.A. 14/40/154: 2 October 1609.

5 C.S.P. Dom. 1603-10, p.567, Sir Thomas Lake to Salisbury, 5 December 1609.

Nottingham himself did not emerge unscathed from the investigations of 1608-9. Evidence was produced which showed that he had used his position to arrange compositions for pirates at his own discretion.[1] However, he insisted that he had the right to do this, and the matter was referred to the judges for decision.[2]

Henry Howard, earl of Northampton, who was a prominent member of the navy commission set up in 1608, was particularly painstaking in his enquiries into piracy, possibly because he hoped to bring about the downfall of his cousin Nottingham for personal reasons.[3] In June 1609, the Venetian ambassador reported that the earl had uncovered 'endless abuses' in the admiralty.[4] The examinations of two pirate captains, John Jennings and James Harris, taken before Northampton in 1609, went a long way towards revealing Nottingham's incompetence in controlling his own officers. In their operations in Ireland, pirates had been assisted and encouraged by Williams, who was captain of the king's pinnace on the Irish coast, and by Humphrey Jobson, vice-admiral of Munster, who had led the investigation into Hawkins' conduct as vice-admiral of Devon in 1606. The pirates also revealed that Hannibal Vivian had accepted £140 as a ransom for releasing Jennings when he was at Helford in 1607.[5] Corruption

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1 B.M. Cott. MS. Otho E. VIII, f. 2. This document names several pirates who had been sent to London for trail, only to be released without any criminal proceedings being taken. Particularly damaging to Nottingham was the case of Longcastle, a known pirate, who had given the lord admiral £50 to procure his freedom.

2 Supra, p.38 . There is a copy of a composition drawn up at Doctors' Commons on 27 February 1606 before Sir Julius Caesar and William Hareward, the admiralty registrar, between Benjamin Mansell, a pirate, and some Danish merchants whose goods he had plundered from the Whale Fish of Copenhagen. (H.C.A. 30/858, bundle A, 1605-19.)

3 See Robert W. Kenny, Elizabeth's Admiral, 1970, p. 285.

4 C.S.P. Ven. 1607-10, p.290, Correr to Doge and Senate, 25 June 1609.

5 B.M. Cott. MS. Otho E VIII, ff. 360-4, 367-9.

within the admiralty was summed up by Harris, who said that nothing encouraged pirates more than 'the readines of Officers to discharge them upon takinge their Money.'[1] On 7 December 1609, Northampton sent the examinations of Jennings and Harris to Secretary Lake with a recommendation that they should be pardoned, especially since he feared that Nottingham would try to have them executed quickly, 'bycause they tell tales.'[2] The same month James stayed their execution 'in hope of farther confessions from them.'[3]

Nottingham tried to defend himself against accusations that he was too lenient to offenders, but he was eventually forced to abandon any defence of admiralty officers or of others who had been condemned for their associations with pirates. On 8 August 1610, he wrote to Salisbury, condemning the men who had been uncovered by the commissioners and promising his full support for James in proceeding against them. He was able to avoid public disgrace and dismissal from office by playing on the sentiment which was still attached to him as Elizabeth's admiral, for he wrote:

> I trust the Balanse shall not be soo unequall as that I shall have cause to wysh that I had bene put into my grave when my old Mistress was.[4]

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1 Ibid., f. 369.

2 S.P. 14/50/25.

3 C.S.P. Dom. 1603-10, p.568, Sir Thomas Lake to Salisbury, 8 December 1609. Both men were reported to have been executed in the following year (C.S.P. Ir. 1611-14, p.29, Chichester to Northampton and Nottingham, 16 April 1611).

4 S.P. 14/47/71.

His continuation as lord admiral after 1610 was also due to the fact that he had been sadly unaware of the corruption which had existed amongst his vice-admirals and other admiralty officers. As one member of the 1610 parliament put it:

> much water passed by the mill, whereof the miller was ignorant.[1]

The effect of the piracy commissions of 1608-9 has been obscured by the destruction of the records of the Privy Council for these years. James took the commissioners' findings very seriously and devoted much of his time to rooting out the corruption in the admiralty which had enabled piracy to flourish so freely. On 25 June, Correr, the Venetian ambassador, reported that:

> The King has been attending council daily not merely to put an end to the mischief wrought by the pirates but also to take steps to prevent them being supported by his ministers for the future.[2]

Neither commission was mentioned by Moore, yet their outcome was the destruction of the last important centre of piracy in England. By 1610 subjected to the closest scrutiny.
the illegal activities of the inhabitants of the south-west had been/ The vice-admiral of Devon had been dismissed, fined and imprisoned, and it seems unlikely that the vice-admirals of North and South Cornwall went unpunished. Other influential men in the south-west had been unable to escape the net cast by the commissioners, and 150 offenders had been sent to London to appear before the Privy Council accused of dealings with pirates.[3] The whole conduct of admiralty affairs had been heavily criticised and Nottingham himself had narrowly escaped disgrace. That many more offenders escaped punishment was due to the

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1 Proceedings in Parliament 1610, ed. Elizabeth Read Foster, 2 vols., 1966, II. 42.

2 C.S.P. Ven. 1607-10, p.290, Correr to Doge and Senate.

3 Supra, p.282.

magnanimity of James. On 6 August, Correr observed that the king 'has condoned the past, and turned his attention to providing for the future and especially on the question of sharing in piratical loot.'[1] In his address to the commons in 1610, James recommended the reformation of the laws relating to aiders and abettors of piracy on land, for:

> It is doubtful whether the laws and statutes which be now in force do provide sufficient remedy against such as within the realm are maintainers and relievers of pirates and receivers of goods robbed and stolen by pirates ... for thereby the justice of the kingdom is generally much scandalized throughout all parts of the world where the English nation or name is known or heard of.[2]

The tradition of dealing with pirates could not be broken at one fell swoop, but after 1610 trafficking with pirates was mainly confined to the more remote areas of the British Isles, especially Ireland and Wales. Whilst the business died hard in the south-west, after 1610 it became the exception rather than the rule. In the early 1620's, dealings at Weymouth with James Heriot, a Scottish pirate, and with foreign privateers, caused the government some agitation and led Sir John Coke to the conclusion that there was only one honest man in the whole of Weymouth.[3] To evade the searches of the king's ships, Heriot made use of Fowey, Helford and Torbay, hideouts which were used by Robert Nutt and Downes several years later.[4] However, although the local inhabitants were still willing to assist pirates and buy their booty, the opportunities for doing so were few and far between. Corruption amongst admiralty officials was no longer commonplace. Sir

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1 C.S.P. Ven. 1607-10, p.312, Correr to Doge and Senate.

2 Proceedings in Parliament 1610, II. 281. For deficiencies in the laws relating to aiders and abettors of pirates on land, supra, p.25 et seq.

3 S.P. 14/151/21, Coke to Conway, 21 August 1623.

4 Supra, p.202.

John Eliot was guilty of some misconduct as vice-admiral of Devon,[1] while William Restarrock, who remained as vice-admiral of North Cornwall, was also involved in some trouble with the admiralty. In April 1624, Thomas Trumwith, a gentleman of St. Ives, confessed that he had purchased the St. Louis, a French ship, illegally captured by Garret Garretson, a Dutch privateer, for the sum of £550. Trumwith had bribed Restarrock not to interfere in the bargain and Restarrock had agreed to support Trumwith if any objection was made to the purchase of the St. Louis in the admiralty court.[2] Restarrock's offence, however, was a far cry from the widespread corruption which had characterised admiralty affairs during the first decade of the century, when vice-admirals and their underlings had been brazen enough to exploit their positions by freeing pirates and confiscating pirates' goods to their own advantage.

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1 From depositions taken at Plymouth and Totnes in 1627 it appears that there were few pirates on the Devon coast between c. 1624-7 when compared with Hawkins' vice-admiralty (1603-10). What trafficking in illicit goods there was, mainly concerned foreign privateers. Eliot is mentioned as having released Michael Rowe and six or seven other English pirates after taking their money. However, his main offence lay in falsifying his vice-admiralty accounts, and it must also be borne in mind that the enquiry into his conduct was politically motivated. See 'Sir John Eliot and the Vice-Admiralty of Devon', ed. Harold Hulme, Camden Miscellany, vol. XVII (1940).

2 H.C.A. 1/49/34-5: 20 April 1624. Restarrock had been questioned in the admiralty court on 6 December 1623. He admitted receiving £70 worth of goods from the prize, but said that he had not attempted to arrest the ship since he had not known that the goods were French. He claimed he had not tried to arrest the Dutch because his appointment as vice-admiral had not been renewed by Buckingham and because he was scared that any such attempt might have resulted in the destruction of St. Ives. (H.C.A. 1/49/27-9: 6 December 1623.)

The changed attitude towards pirates was even apparent in the remoter parts of the kingdom. In Wales, Hughes has noticed 'a greater sense of responsibility on the part of local officials and an increasing realisation of the essential evils of encouraging piracy.'[1] This new outlook was helped by the fact that with a decline in the activities of English pirates, together with the incursions of foreign rovers, piracy was becoming a real menace which no longer offered the same opportunities for profitable intrigue as it had done in the early years of James' reign:

> Those who were foolish enough to aid them in victualling or furnishing their ships, were regarded as 'knaves' who imperilled the lives and property of others. A new generation had grown up, to which piracy meant fear and not profit, and with this opinion went a sense of protection by the state and a consequent feeling of responsibility towards it.[2]

The suppression of piracy in Ireland posed the greatest problem for the government. After 1608 the ports of Munster were increasingly frequented by the Atlantic pirates, who came in great strength and trafficked not only with the local inhabitants but also with Englishmen who sailed from the ports of south-west England for that express purpose.[3] The trade with pirates in Ireland must have increased considerably as a result of the commissions of 1608-9, which restricted the opportunities for trafficking in Devon and Cornwall.[4]

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1 Carys Eryl Hughes, 'Wales and Piracy, a Study in Tudor Administration, 1500-1640', (University College, Swansea, M.A. thesis, 1937), p.21.

2 Ibid., p. 211. See above, p.208.

3 Supra, pp.121-2.

4 Hawkins was bold enough to boast that he had forced pirates to leave Devon and 'seeke yrland and other places for their releife'. (S.P. 14/36/21, Hawkins to Nottingham and other lords of the Council, 18 September 1608.)

Humphrey Jobson, who had led the investigation into Hawkins' conduct as vice-admiral, was appointed vice-admiral of Munster in 1607, an office in which he was as corrupt as Hawkins had been in the vice-admiralty of Devon. In June 1607, Humphrey's brother Richard was sent to Munster, where he remained until February 1610 as deputy vice-admiral.[1] In April 1610, probably as a result of the earl of Northampton's investigations, Richard was interrogated in the admiralty court for his dealings with pirates and Humphrey was imprisoned in Newgate gaol.[2]

During Jobson's three years as vice-admiral, the province of Munster had been virtually subjected to pirate rule. Richard had freed many pirates, had issued 'passports' to them to travel unmolested in the country, and had even gone as far as to employ some of them as admiralty officers. Thickpenny, Jolliffe and Lumly, three pirate captains, had openly paraded in the streets of Youghal without Richard attempting to arrest them, and the hold of the pirates was so strong that they were reported to have sat as jurors at an admiralty court held on Sherkin Island.[3] Richard had boarded many pirate vessels and had gained an intimate knowledge of most of the leading corsairs who frequented Ireland. Both he and his brother had received large quantities of loot. When the admiralty judge asked Richard to enumerate the goods he had accepted, bartered, bargained or seized while deputy vice-admiral, he asked for a copy of the question and told the judge 'it will aske some tyme'.[4]

Yet Richard was able to offer some defence for his actions. Much of the booty which he had obtained had been sent to England and where possible restored to the original owners. He showed specific examples

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1 H.C.A. 1/47/98: 17 April 1610.

2 H.C.A. 1/47/120: 7 May 1610.

3 H.C.A. 1/47/90, 92, 99-100, 104: 27 March, 17, 21 April 1610.

4 H.C.A. 1/47/100: 17 April 1610.

of property that he recovered but which he had not appropriated for his personal use. He even went so far as to invite the judge to check his story by making enquiries among the merchants whom he claimed to have satisfied.[1] The Jobson brothers had certainly retained some goods for themselves, but as vice-admiral, Humphrey was in any case entitled to 50% of all pirate booty. The recovery of stolen goods involved some personal expenditure for Richard, although no doubt he exaggerated the amount.[2] When some gold and pearls were found in the possession of the wife of Captain Thompson, a notorious pirate, some were restored to a French merchant, but most were kept to pay Richard's expenses. Travel and accommodation to remote parts of Munster and escorting and supporting any pirates who were arrested must have been a costly business. At least the lord admiral received some of the booty whichwas his due. When Richard had 40 sugar loaves from a pirate ship he gave some to the vice-president of Munster and sent some over to his brother in England, 'to be geven to my Ladye of Effingham'.[3]

Richard Jobson could claim that the stranglehold which pirates had on Munster had forced him to resort to extraordinary measures such as boarding pirate ships, since there was no more rigorous course of

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1 He recovered fifty chests of sugar out of Jenning's pirate ship and delivered them to a merchant for the use of the Spanish ambassador. Jobson also helped recover some of the cargo of the Brave of Dieppe after the French ambassador had personally asked for his help, and he sent jewellery to London to be restored to the lawful owners. It is doubtful that he would have falsified facts which could easily be checked in London. (H.C.A. 1/47/107: 21 April 1610.)

2 Jobson claimed that it had cost him £138 to recover thirty-two chests of sugar from the pirate Captain Parker and to send them over to England (H.C.A. 1/47/109: 21 April 1610).

3 H.C.A. 1/47/79: 27 January 1610.

proceeding open to him. Such admissions were bound to be interpreted in England as evidence of his fraternisation with pirates, and indeed, there is little doubt that he abused his office for his own and his brother's benefit. Yet corruption amongst admiralty officers is only to be expected when it is considered that they were unpaid public servants, often operating in remote corners of the country where piracy was an accepted way of life, at a time when standards of public service in general, and those of the admiralty in particular, were deplorably low.

Humphrey Jobson must have been dismissed as vice-admiral of Munster in 1610, for in that year the office was held by Izon Kempe, by virtue of the lord admiral's letters patent.[1] Kempe and his deputy, Richard Grice, were soon as involved with pirates as the Jobson brothers had been. On 5 July 1610, John Bedleck, a Devonshire man who had been captured in the Orkneys, was in prison in the Tolbooth at Edinburgh for piracy. He made a deposition stating that when he had been in a pirate ship on the Irish coast, Grice had come aboard and had 'maid merrie with thame', and that Kempe had been sent a boat-full of hides and lead. The Scottish Privy Council sent Bedleck's deposition to the lord treasurer and to Northampton, the lord privy seal, who forwarded it to Lord Deputy Chichester.[2] On 7 November Chichester passed the papers to Morȳson, vice-president of Munster, and on 2 December Grice was interrogated about his actions as deputy vice-admiral.[3] Thus, less than a year after the Jobsons had been disgraced, their successors in the vice-admiralty of Munster were strongly suspected of dealing with pirates.

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1 Lambeth Palace, S.P. Carew, vol. 619, f.135. In 1627, Falkland, lord deputy of Ireland, informed Secretary Nicholas that one Jobson, who had been secretary for admiralty causes to Nottingham and deputy vice-admiral of Munster, had been expelled from office for 'bad behaviour.' (C.S.P. Ir. 1625-32, p.249, 5 July.)

2 Lambeth Palace, S.P. Carew, vol. 619, f.112.

3 Ibid., ff. 135-9. Grice admitted boarding pirate ships and receiving stolen goods, although he claimed to have kept account books. As in the case of Jobson, the hopeless situation on the Munster coast made it difficult to establish when an admiralty officer was guilty of fraternising with pirates.

The navy was totally unprepared to meet the threat from the powerful pirate fleets which plagued the Irish coast. James took considerable interest in his navy and spent at least as much money on it as Elizabeth, but it was money badly spent. For most years of the reign it cost more than it had done at the end of the war, although there were fewer ships in service.[1] Several of the twenty-three ships which the navy commissioners declared serviceable in 1618 had been out of action for many years undergoing expensive rebuilds which could take as long as four years.[2] Only two new vessels were built before 1615: the Prince Royal, 1200 tons, and the Phoenix, 250 tons.[3]

James used his navy as an expensive show-piece for visiting princes.[4] His ships were rarely on active service. Several were employed for duties in the Channel each year, and they were also used on special occasions, such as conveying Princess Elizabeth to Flushing in 1613, or for Prince Charles' escapade in Spain ten years later.[5] There may have been some prejudice against using such beautiful vessels against pirates. After Sir William Monson's squadron had weathered severe storms searching for pirates in Scotland and Ireland in 1614, he declared that it was 'fearful to think that two ships of his Majesty's of that consequence should be hazarded on so slender an occasion as the pursuit of a few petty pirates.'[6] The only naval expedition of the reign, that against the pirates of Algiers in 1620-1621, showed the dependability of the royal ships as transports, but also highlighted their deficiencies as sailing ships. The admiral of the fleet, Sir Robert Mansell, wrote of the Algerine pirate ships that:

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1 Oppenheim, Administration, p.197.

2 Ibid., pp. 196, 203.

3 Ibid., p.202.

4 Ibid., p.203.

5 Ibid., pp. 187, 191.

6 Monson, Tracts, III. 58.

> ... it is almost incredible to relate in how short tyme thoas ships outsayld ye whoal fleet out of sight.[1]

Most of the vessels in the Jacobean navy were entirely unsuited for operations against pirates. The pirate captain Henry Mainwaring, who received his pardon in 1616, described in his Discourse the kind of ships which the navy needed. They had to be 'floaty', that is of a shallow draught, and equipped with strong ordnance, and he noted that the service would not suffer if they were 'the less remarkable for painting.' He also recommended swift dispatch boats, using both oars and sail, which could bring news of the whereabouts of pirate ships.[2]

Many of James' ships were the antithesis of Mainwaring's stipulations. Most were of an impressive size but had lofty upper-works, which were fine for accommodation and display purposes, but which made them indifferent under sail.[3] Their sailing qualities were also hindered by their excessive draught and the low ratio between their length and breadth. The only vessels of any real merit for pirate work were the swift sailing pinnaces employed against pirates on the Irish coast. It was not until 1618 that the navy commissioners took firm control of naval architecture. They directed that ships should be built without lofty superstructures, should have a draught of less than sixteen feet, and should approximate to the magic length/breadth ratio of three to one. However, even the commissioners, who built two ships a year between 1618 and 1623, neglected to construct any pinnaces.[4] Indeed, they ordered the

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1 B.M. Harl. MS. 1581, f.70, Mansell to Buckingham, 13 January 1621.

2 Mainwaring, Life and Works, II. 43-4.

3 Oppenheim, Administration, pp. 185-6.

4 Ibid., pp. 202, 205. Monson believed that 'a really large squadron of small cruisers' was necessary to exterminate pirates. However, they first had to be built. (Monson, Tracts, III. 71.)

Tramontane, which was built in 1586 and saw much service on the Irish coast, to be broken up.[1] The only other two pinnaces in the navy were the Lion's Whelp, 90 tons, purchased in 1601 and rebuilt in 1608, which was also used on the Irish station, and the Desire, 80 tons, built in 1616.[2]

If James' ships were ill-prepared to meet the threat of piracy, so were the men who manned them. Mainwaring believed that the navy badly needed able men for the service, for standards of seamanship were deplorably low. Although officers' pay rose sharply during the reign, and many profiteers made fortunes out of victualling and supplying the royal vessels, this was all at the expense of the common seaman whose wages remained static until the end of the reign.[3] Not surprisingly, men were reluctamt to serve in the king's ships and often deserted after being pressed for the service.

Naval captains often acted little better than the pirates they were meant to capture. Williams, captain of the Tramontane, received bribes from pirates, feasted with them and even loaned them members of his own crew.[4] After Sir William St. John, who saw much service on the Irish coast, had captured James Harris and his crew, he stripped them of

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1 Oppenheim, op.cit., pp. 121, 206

2 Ibid., pp. 121, 202.

3 Ibid., p.197.

4 B.M. Cott. MS. Otho E. VIII, f. 360. When the Tramontane was at Cork, Williams went overland to Baltimore and received £40 from some pirates as an inducement to leave them alone. Nevertheless, he sailed to Baltimore and demanded £100 more, although the pirates only gave him £30. He then celebrated with the pirates and let them have a trumpeter from the king's ship. On another occasion Williams approached Captain Jennings at Whiddy Island and was given a French bottom worth £2-300.

all their clothes and possessions and allowed most of them to go free. The loot amounted to about £800, much of which St. John evidently intended to keep for himself, for he warned Harris that 'the lesser quantitye he did confesse of the money it would be the better for them.'[1] It was probably his low opinion of St. John that led Chichester to condemn the captains of royal ships as men who wished 'to be hastily rich by rapine and base gain.' To remedy the situation, Chichester recommended his nephew Sir Arthur Basset to the lord admiral as an honest and experienced sailor 'that will not be tainted wilfully with the usuall infection of Seamen'.[2]

James Harris, the pirate captain, described the deplorable condition of the naval vessels which were employed on the Irish coast in 1609:

> ... they are Shippes of no defense, for besides /the/ insufficiencies of the Men, beinge ragged beggars, scume /sic/ of the people havinge somtimes amonge 100 men /not/ fortie shirtes, they have neither Nettinge, Gratinge, /nor/ anie other meanes for a close fighte, which moved this Examinant to admonishe Capten St. John to be warie how he mett with Bishop or his company so weklie furnished as he was, demandinge of him how he coulde defende himself if 40 Men shoulde come on boorde of his Shippe, whereunto he answeared he would blowe up the Decque, a thinge impossible without splettinge the Shippe when she carried 8 peces of brase ordinance upon the same Decque /as/ Sakes and Mynyons.[3]

The ships which patrolled the Irish station were victualled and fitted out in England, and rarely arrived before the summer. Their captains and crews tended to linger in England as long as possible, for

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1 H.C.A. 1/47/62: 8 December 1609.

2 Analecta Hibernica, p. 111, lord deputy to lord admiral, 26 June 1613.

3 B.M. Otho E VIII, f. 372.

'the mariners' affection to their own home likely retains them long'.[1] This left the Irish coast completely exposed for several months, as the pirates, who followed a seasonal cycle of wintering in Barbary and then going north for the summer, generally arrived on the Irish coast in the sping. In August 1613, Chichester wrote to Nottingham of the futility of dispatching royal ships so late,

> to secure and clear these Coasts, as they may well do, for a while, and then return as their Manner is, without apprehending or seeing of any pirate.[2]

Chichester recommended that the victuals and stores for the royal ships be kept in Ireland and that the ships should winter there. He had second thoughts however, as he feared it would be difficult to get trustworthy men for the service in Ireland, and could only suggest that Bristol and Milford Haven should continue to be used as bases.[3]

Such were the difficulties of guarding the Irish coastline that Chichester thought the only way to prevent piracy was to lay waste the entire coast or to patrol every port and creek.[4] Both these remedies were impractical, although the government could have taken steps to fortify important strategic points such as Baltimore. The Irish station was sadly neglected compared with the patrols for the English Channel. Before 1614 only one pinnace was sent to Ireland each year.[5] Chichester hoped to re-deploy royal vessels to greater effect. He wrote:

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1 C.S.P. Ir. 1608-10, Lord Danvers to [Privy Council or Salisbury], 19 January 1609.

2 Analecta Hibernica, p.120, lord deputy to lord admiral, 4 August.

3 Ibid., pp.120-1.

4 Ibid., p.62, lord deputy to Lords of Council, 31 October 1612.

5 Monson, Tracts, III. 72.

> It were to good purpose if some of those ships appointed to keep the narrow seas, did once or twice in the winter search the harbours for pirates upon this coast, and if they lost their labour by such a journey, the same often happens to them in the narrow seas.[1]

The ships of the Irish station were also burdened with other duties, such as convoying dignitaries and prisoners to and from England, carrying messages and searching for priests and rebels.

Whenever the navy encountered pirate ships it acted in a singularly unimpressive way. Most captures were made in harbour. The Tramontane, a pinnace which was often in service in Ireland, was outsailed by every pirate.[2] After Baugh surrendered in 1612, St. John took his ship to sea in preference to the royal vessel, which he left at Kinsale.[3] The solitary vessels of the Irish patrol were inadequate to overcome pirates who were in consort, and they sometimes found themselves at the mercy of the men they were supposed to capture. When Captain Williams encountered the pirates' admiral, Edward Bishop, Lord Danvers, president of Munster, reflected that:

> Byshopp merits more thanks for suffering the "Tramontane" to come safely out of the haven of Ballymore than Williams showed discretion in that adventure ...[4]

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1 C.S.P. Ir. 1608-10, p.371, 'Remembrances concerning the Public, given to Mr. Treasurer', 29 January 1609.

2 C.S.P. Ir. 1606-08, p.550, Danvers to Salisbury, 3 June 1608.

3 Analecta Hibernica, p.35, lord deputy to Lords of the Council, 25 July 1612.

4 C.S.P. Ir. 1608-10, p.71, Danvers to Privy Council, 15 October 1608.

The navy was unable to offer a challenge to the Atlantic pirates when they appeared on the Irish coast in great force during James' reign. The government was probably taken unawares by such a show of strength because it believed that deep-sea pirates would never resort to the British coast. In a project to police British waters against pirates, which can be dated between 1603 and 1610 ~~about 1605~~, it was stated that one ship and two pinnaces would be sufficient to guard Ireland,

> ... for it is consydered that the great pyratts which kepe the strayts and cost of Spayne never maks ther repayre for England and therfor noe hope in taking them ...[1]

Just how competent the navy was to meet the threat from the pirates became apparent in 1611. On 17 July, Nottingham wrote to Salisbury to protest at the decision to send out the Rainbow, a ship of 480 tons and twenty-eight guns, crewed by 250 men,[2] together with a pinnace, because three of Peter Easton's vessels were 'very great shipps, carienge allmost as much ordonnaunce as the Rainebowe'. The lord admiral disclaimed all responsibility for despatching the royal ships and believed that they would only bring dishonour to the king and to the navy if they were unfortunate enough to encounter the pirates.[3]

Although they were hampered by communications and the magnitude of the task of covering all the Irish coastline, the English naval

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1 B.M. Cott. MS. Otho E VIII, f. 188. This document, drawn up 'in this common time of peace', can be dated by the mention of five ships: the Advantage, the Tramontane, the Lion's Whelp, the Moon and the Marlin, all of which are mentioned in a list of naval vessels drawn up two months after Elizabeth's death. In 1619 the navy commissioners noted that the Advantage had been burnt about five years previously, but the document is almost certainly earlier than this, for in 1610 the Advantage was lying at Bristol and was totally unfit for the King's service. (Oppenheim, Administration, pp. 120-1, 157, 195; Monson, Tracts, III, 349, Monson to Salisbury and Nottingham, 10 April 1610).

2 Oppenheim, Administration, pp. 124, 157.

3 S.P. 14/65/37.

captains were not without their successes against small pirate ships. In 1619 Sir Thomas Button was rewarded by the Merchant Venturers of Bristol for his services in keeping the Irish Sea and the Severn Estuary free for trade. Patrols became more effective towards the end of the reign. In August 1624, instructions were issued to Sir Thomas Button (Antelope), Captain Christopher Harris (Phoenix), and Captain Thomas Porter (Convertive), for Irish service.[1] In the following year, England boasted a Channel squadron of ten ships:

> A larger force than had probably ever been employed before for merely protective duties.[2]

The increase in regular naval patrols, coupled with a decline in the number of pirates resorting to Ireland, meant that by the end of the reign the British coast was fairly well secured.

The Irish officials had endeavoured to rectify naval deficiencies by taking matters into their own hands. Danvers had sent out private individuals against pirates,[3] and captured pirate vessels were also used to supplement the strength of the navy.[4] These extraordinary measures had little effect. Chichester bemoaned the fact that he was

> ... sometimes constrained to hire and man out such sorry vessels as they can get ... or else to descend to such little acts and strategums to circumvent such malefactors as of late has been done at Youghall.[5]

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1 C.S.P. Ir. 1615-25, p.253.

2 Oppenheim, op.cit., p. 253, n.i.

3 C.S.P. Ir. 1608-10, p.100, bishop of Cork to Privy Council, /August/ 1608.

4 A pirate bark captured by Sir Ralph Bingley was employed to attend the king's ships, and it was also planned to use Captain Coward's pirate ship for coastal patrols. (C.S.P. Ir. 1606-8, p.224, Chichester to Privy Council, 16 July 1607.)

5 Ibid.

The 'little acts and strategums' refers to the capture of Captain Coward, a pirate who was at Youghal in 1607, in a Flemish ship of sixty tons. Sir Richard Boyle and Jobson sent out one Hampton, who like Coward came from Bristol, with instructions to capture the pirates under the guise of friendship. Hampton, with eighty men stowed under hatches in his bark, managed to get close enough to the pirate ship to surprise Coward and take all his crew prisoner.[1]

By 1608, English merchants trading south towards the Straits were suffering increasingly heavy losses from pirates. In that year, the Levant Merchants petitioned James from Florence to issue letters of marque against North African and Tuscan corsairs.[2] It was probably in response to this petition that James wrote to Nottingham authorising him to press men and supplies, and to send ships to sea to capture pirates, or else to issue commissions to others to do likewise.[3] James' letters patent to Nottingham were dated the 15 December 1609, and on 29 December the first commission was issued to some merchants of the Levant Company to set forth the Trinity Stapers to take pirates.[4] Between 1609 and 1618 at least thirty-two similar commissions were issued by the admiralty, whereby Nottingham forfeited a considerable percentage of his droits as lord admiral to any pirate booty which might be

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1 Ibid.

2 B.M. Cott. MS. Nero B VII, f. 224, 'The propositions of the Marchants, intending to travaile to Turke by the Levant.'

3 H.C.A. 14/39/7.

4 H.C.A. 14/39/25-6.

captured.[1] Nottingham himself, however, does not appear to have used his authority to send forth ships to capture pirates.

It is possible to see the issue of commissions to private individuals as a sign of apathy on the part of James and his lord admiral in suppressing piracy, and Moore has interpreted the commissions in this way.[2] Most of the commissions, however, were issued for ships trading in distant seas - to Guinea, the West Indies, Barbary, the Mediterranean or Newfoundland - areas in which the government could not possibly have been expected to provide effective naval protection.[3] In all these cases

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1 Nottingham forfeited at least half of the profits, and often more. Moore, 'Aspects of English Piracy', appendix I, has listed twenty-five of the commissions. To these can be added the following: 2 June 1610 to John Dike, Levant merchant, for Susan Bonaventure of London, 100 tons, William Case captain (H.C.A. 14/40/136, 156); 26 March 1613 to Exeter (H.C.A. 14/41/201); 9 July 1614 to Kingston-upon-Hull (H.C.A. 14/43/286); 29 June 1615 to Captain Gifford and others for Diamond of Shoreham, 200 tons, and two pinnaces, the Spark, 60 tons, and the Garland, 60 tons, bound for Barbary (H.C.A. 14/43/379); 20 March 1616 to Maurice Abbot, Nicholas Leate, John Dike and other London merchants for the Hercules, 250 tons, Walter Whiting master, and the Golden Dragon, 240 tons, William Case master, for a voyage to Zante and the Mediterranean (H.C.A. 14/43/341-2); 4 November 1616 to Humphrey Slainie, London merchant, for the Heart's Desire of London, 80 tons, Richard Burlie master, bound for Guinea (H.C.A. 14/43/284) and 28 March 1618 for the Royal Exchange of London, 300 tons, David Bannister master, bound for Venice (H.C.A. 14/43/250).

2 Moore, op. cit., pp.104-5.

3 The destinations of ships, where stated in the commissions, are Guinea (6), Barbary (3), the Levant (3), the Mediterranean (2), Zante (1), Venice (1), Newfoundland (1), the West Indies (1), and the East Indies (1).

the ships were not specifically sent out against pirates. Indeed, the capture of pirates was meant to be incidental to the main purpose of the voyage, which was trade. Rather than showing apathy on the part of the government, the commissions are indicative of the government's recognition of the necessity for merchantmen to defend themselves against pirates at a time when the risks of capture were great.

True, requests for assistance against pirates nearer home were also answered by granting commissions. Between 1610 and 1614, commissions were granted to Barnstaple, Bristol, Exeter, Kingston-upon-Hull, Newcastle and Weymouth, as well as one to Henry earl of Southampton and the mayor of Portsmouth.[1] Elizabeth, too, had always met requests for assistance against pirates by encouraging self-help and by sending letters of assistance.[2] Thus, there was nothing unusual or apathetic in Nottingham's readiness to grant commissions to send out vessels against pirates on the British coast. A more active policy on the part of the government would only have exacerbated James' unhealthy financial position. Nottingham expounded his policy when, in response to Scottish pleas, a royal ship was sent to the North Channel in search of a pirate, although there was already a naval vessel on both the Scottish and Irish coasts. In exasperation at what he considered an extravagant measure, Nottingham wrote to Caesar:

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1 H.C.A. 14/40/150; 14/41/53, 99, 185, 196, 201; 14/43/286.

2 Supra, p.266. E.g. A complaint of pirates around Bristol and a request for assistance from the city only met with an open letter from the Council instructing all officers to render their assistance to the city to furnish a force to capture the pirates. (Hurd, 'Some Aspects of the Attempts of the Government to suppress Piracy during the reign of Elizabeth I', pp. 109-110.)

> If his Majesty shall upon every such complaynt ether out of Scotland or from divers parts of England, send out shippinge to prove a wanton charge I marvell why they doe not in Scotland as I have don here, for in divers plases on the cost of England they have a wryte under comision of the Admyralte to seet out shyppyng at any tyme as they shall see cause for the takyng of pirates, and to incourag them I have geven them the ryght of my patent.[1]

The navy may have been ill-prepared to deal with the deep-sea pirates who frequented Ireland, but it seems doubtful whether any useful purpose would have been served by sending out royal ships in response to every rumour of small-time pirates.

If the issue of commissions to private individuals is to be criticised, it is because there was always the risk that the gamekeeper might turn poacher. The admiralty was well aware of this danger, and several men who took out commissions against pirates had to enter into bonds for their good behaviour before their ships could put to sea.[2] Nevertheless, the worst sometimes happened. The Nightingale of Chichester, which had a commission, was one of the ships with which Henry Mainwaring left England at the start of his piratical career.[3] Another ship which exceeded the bounds of her commission was the Pearl of London, 200 tons, captained by Samuel Casselton. Casselton sailed to the East Indies, where, in May 1612, at the Islands of Zealand, he plundered a Portuguese vessel from Malacca of a rich cargo of spices worth £50,000. John Tatten, master of the Pearl, challenged the legality of the capture in front of the whole crew, but Casselton insisted that he could justify his actions by his commission. Casselton cut the merchants' marks off the packs and tried to persuade his crew to head for the Mediterranean to sell the booty, but the Pearl and her precious cargo were wrecked off the Irish coast.[4]

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1 B.M. Lansd. MS. 165, f. 192, 15 September 1612.

2 See for example the warrant dated 13 February 1612, to prepare a commission for William Parker, captain of the Wilmott of Plymouth, 100 tons, for a voyage to Guinea and the West Indies (H.C.A. 14/42/149).

3 Supra, p.151. Issued 15 March 1613 to Richard Clarke (H.C.A.14/42/134).

4 H.C.A.13/98/147-8, 158-9, 164: 13, 23-4 December 1613, 10 January 1614. The Pearl's commission was issued on 2 August 1611 to Casselton, John Morris and Thomas Best (H.C.A. 14/42/197).

The grant of commissions to capture pirates was only an extraordinary measure to meet the needs of dangerous times, and the numbers issued declined sharply before Nottingham retired as lord admiral. Cnly one was issued in 1615, three in 1616, none in 1617 and one in 1618.[1] After Buckingham became lord admiral there was a marked reluctance to issue commissions to towns or individuals. In 1623, after Weymouth had asked for authority to set forth ships against pirates, Coke wrote to Conway explaining the reasons why such requests were no longer looked on favourably:

> Wherein wee al agree: that it standeth not with his Majesties' interest, nor honor, that anie other ships should gward his ports, or trade but his own: or that anie subjects should have power at their discretions, either to disturb the free intercourse of his allies: or to ingage the state by such disorders, as under color of pursuing pirats they may commit.[2]

With the decline in piracy and the increasing effectiveness of the navy towards the end of James' reign, together with the development of the concept of the sovereignty of the seas, commissions against pirates were only granted in times of great stress, as for example when authority was given to Bristol to clear the Severn of pirates at the start of war in 1626.[3]

James has been strongly criticised by Moore for dispensing pardons too freely.[4] It must, however, be remembered that between 1609 and 1612, English pirates appeared on the British coastline in unprecedented strength. In 1609, Bishop was on the Munster coast commanding a fleet of eleven ships and 1,000 men,[5] and in the following years the corsairs were led by that 'famous arch pirate'[6] Peter Easton. In July 1611

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1 Supra, p.301, n.1.

2 S.P. 14/151/21, 21 August.

3 A.P.C. 1625-6, pp. 211-12.

4 Moore, op. cit., pp.62,78-9,106-7.

5 C.S.P. Ir. 1608-10, p. 277, Moryson to Salisbury, 22 August 1609.

6 Whitbourne, A Discourse and Discovery of Newfoundland, p. c.2.

Easton was at Leamcon with nine men-of-war and four prizes, and by the end of that summer his ships were reported to number nineteen.[1] Sir Ferdinando Gorges, writing to Salisbury on 5 July, said that Easton had 600 men, and he estimated that the overall strength of the pirates was forty ships and 2,000 men.[2] It is not surprising that the single pinnace which patrolled the Irish station could only assume the role of a spectator.

It is unrealistic to expect James to have countered the pirates with force. The people of Munster kept the rovers informed of the movements of any royal vessels on their coast and they would have soon learnt of the preparation of a naval force in England.[3] James Harris, the pirate captain, informed Northampton how;

> ... the purpose of the State to pursue pyrates from Bristoll, Plymmouth is so ordinaraly discovered in Ireland by the fysherman.[4]

Clearly, it is doubtful whether an expedition could have found the pirates - always supposing they remained together - let alone have defeated them. The royal ships did not exist for such a task, and even if James had felt inclined to build them, an expedition would not have been prudent in view of James' deteriorating finances. Paul Pindar's pragmatic advice on dealing with piracy was:

> ... if that entails diminished profits for the merchants and considerable outlay for the King, just to bear it as the lesser of two evils.[5]

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1 C.S.P. Ir. 1611-14, p.89, Chichester and Carew to Privy Council, 29 July 1611, p.100, Carew to Salisbury, 6 September 1611.

2 S.P. 14/65/16.

3 B.M. Cott. MS. Otho E VIII, f. 385, Chichester to Salisbury and Northampton, 21 November 1610.

4 Ibid., f. 368.

5 C.S.P. Ven. 1610-13, p.202, Foscarini to Doge and Senate, 2 September 1611. Pindar was English ambassador at Constantinople.

The Council was encouraged to favour pardoning the pirates by the attitude of the pirates themselves. Some were genuinely tired of their lawless lives. Bishop was willing to forego riches and a pardon from the duke of Tuscany, and professed that he would rather die a poor labourer in his own country 'than bethe richest pirate in the world.'[1] Reports of his sincerity greatly impressed Chichester, who wrote to Nottingham on his behalf.[2] Most captains amongst the Atlantic fleet could claim that they had refrained from plundering British vessels, and some had even gone out of their way to help their own countrymen. Although English ships were frequently intercepted, they were usually allowed to proceed with their cargoes intact, the pirates having taken only a few able seamen and some victuals.[3]

There was a body of opinion in England which favoured granting pardons to pirates. Other rulers had set precedents for pardoning even the most notorious rogues: Henry IV of France had given a free pardon to the Dutch pirate Simon Danser in 1609,[4] and the duke of Tuscany had continually been trying to entice English pirates to enter his service.[5] Cecil diplomatically argued that it was not dishonourable for James to follow such examples. The pirate fleets of Bishop and Easton comprised some very able mariners, and many of them were said to be genuinely repentant of their crimes. There was also the fear that if the pirates' pleas for mercy were ignored, they would extend their depredations to English shipping. In 1611, they were threatening to attack the Newfoundland fishing fleet unless they were pardoned. Cecil justified a conciliatory policy thus:

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1 C.S.P. Ir. 1611-14, p.91, Captain Skipwyth to Chichester, 25 July 1611.

2 Lambeth Palace, S.P. Carew, vol. 619, f.f135, 4 June 1610.

3 Supra, p. 105 et seq.

4 C.S.P. Ven. 1607-10, p.391, Foscarini to Doge and Senate, 1 December 1609.

5 Supra, p. 85 et seq.

> A rigorous proceeding is not always the best means to reclaime Men that are desperate, and that the hope of grace may make those become good Subjects who are nothing moved with the Terrour of Punishment.[1]

The king, however, was reluctant to depart from his ideals. Foscarini, the Venetian ambassador noted how James was unable to reconcile the granting of pardons with his conscience and honour.[2] Fortunately, his more practical councillors saw that even this weak course of action was better than none at all. However, the extension of pardons was never intended to be anything more than a temporary expedient induced by the unprecedented situation which existed between 1609 and 1612. It was always James' intention to solve the problem by using his 'royal sword of justice' on those who remained recalcitrant.[3]

The government had lent some support to projects for pardoning pirates prior to 1611. In 1608, Henry Pepwell had been sent to Tunis by Nottingham in an attempt to pardon English pirates in the city or to try to induce them to destroy one another. The mission ended disastrously when Pepwell's crew joined the pirates and he was forced to sell his vessel to the Moors and return to England. Pepwell apparently received little active help from the government, however, for he was unable to gain an audience with Salisbury on his return. Undaunted, he continued his efforts in Ireland, where he hoped to procure

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1 Sir Ralph Winwood, Memorials of Affairs of State in the Reign of Q. Elizabeth and K. James I. ed. E. Sawyer, 3 vols., 1725, III. 286, Salisbury to Winwood, 17 July 1611. Two days later Chichester advised Salisbury 'to receive them to mercy otherwise they are resolved to prey upon the subject as well as the stranger.' (C.S.P. Ir. 1608-10, p.480.)

2 C.S.P. Ven. 1610-13, p.176, Foscarini to Doge and Senate, 7 July 1611.

3 C.S.P. Ir. 1611-14, p.302, Lords of the Council to Chichester, 18 November 1612.

Bishop's submission, and he wrote to Salisbury from Dublin 'to declare that now which he would gladly before have delivered in speech.'[1]

In 1610, the foreign ambassadors to England, realising that little could be achieved against the pirates by force, were nevertheless anxious to obtain some restitution for the goods which had been plundered from their merchants. They therefore petitioned James for permission to extend his pardon to the pirates, in return for the surrender of their booty. As a concession to James' honour, the ambassadors suggested that the pardon should specifically exclude Ward and Sockwell - the two most infamous English pirates - and that any pirates who accepted were to be settled in Ireland and bonds taken for their good behaviour.[2]

James must have agreed to help the ambassadors, for late in 1610, Anthony Radcliffe and Lawrence Davidge, who were mentioned in the ambassadors' request, were in Ireland, along with Henry Gosnold and Salvador Machado, a Portuguese merchant. These men, by virtue of an admiralty commission, were enquiring into the whereabouts of pirate loot in Ireland and trying to induce the pirates to sign a petition begging James' pardon.[3] This petition promised the surrender of all the pirates' ships, arms and goods, and payment of an undetermined sum of money, which was to be calculated in thousands of pounds. It also asked that the redeemed pirates be allowed to keep enough loot to live

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1 C.S.P. Ir. 1608-10, pp. 278-9, 22 August 1609. This may be the same Henry Pepwell who had a share in a privateering expedition in 1603, and who later went to Guinea as captain of the Feather of Lymington, eighty tons, with a commission to capture pirates, issued on 24 August 1613 (H.C.A.1/48/105-6:23 July 14/41/168). /1616;

2 B.M. Otho E VIII, f. 345.

3 C.S.P. Ir. 1611-14, p.29, Chichester to Salisbury, Northampton and Nottingham, 16 April 1611.

on until they could find employment. Many of the men were stated to have been pirates since the end of the Spanish war and to have been induced to accept a pardon only when it became apparent that the peace was to endure.[1] Little reliance should be placed on such statements, however, since the petition was drawn up by the merchants with a view to getting a sympathetic hearing from the king. Radcliffe and his fellow commissioners soon aroused complaints from the lord deputy and the vice-admiral of Munster - probably because the pardon which they were trying to induce the pirates to accept had the effect of encouraging the pirates and their accomplices to believe that their crimes could be easily forgiven.[2] On 19 February 1611 the commission was superceded on Nottingham's orders, and Radcliffe was directed to return to England to answer some objections which had been made against him.[3]

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1 B.M. Otho E VIII, ff. 170-1. This copy of the petition is signed by Richard Bishop and William Woolman, although it had been reported that Bishop had not signed because he had other negotiations in hand (C.S.P. Ir. 1611-14, p.29).

2 On 23 November 1610, Moryson wrote: 'If not carefully proceeded in, the very report (of the commission) may much prejudice the King's service and honour.' (C.S.P. Ir. 1615-25, p.302. This letter has been wrongly calendared under 1620.) In 'A Treaty for reducing pirates in Munster', which was probably written about the time of Radcliffe's commission, the number of men who were empowered to negotiate pardons was strongly criticised: 'much confusion is daily bredd by the multiplicity of inferiour persons, authorised under others to parley with them'. (Lambeth Palace, S.P. Carew, vol. 619, f. 141.)

3 H.C.A. 14/40/13, Nottingham to Dunn; C.S.P. Ir. 1611-14, p.30, Chichester to Salisbury, Northampton and Nottingham, 16 April 1611.

It was not until 1611 that James was finally persuaded to extend a general pardon to the pirates, and even then he only did so reluctantly. Paradoxically, his change in policy was precipitated by Easton's capture of the Concord of London and the Philip Bonaventure of Dover off the Scilly Isles on 26 June.[1] These two ships were carrying the goods of English merchants worth between thirty and forty thousand pounds. The immediate government reaction to this heavy loss was a resolution that five royal ships be sent out at the merchants' expense.[2] However, a combination of factors, including the merchants' request that a general pardon should be extended to the pirates, eventually persuaded James against the use of force. A contemporary commentator summed up the reasons for the decision thus:

> The hazard of the King's ships, the great expense, the backwardness of the merchants to contribute, the fear that those men of war would be burdensome to our trading ships that might come in their way at sea, and the recovery of the 40,000 l. last taken weighed the balance to the other side, and a resolution is taken at the importunate suit of our merchants to give them a general pardon on restitution of the 40,000 l.[3]

Yet James had still not abandoned his plans to use force, for on 8 August, John More reported moves to send out five royal ships, two pinnaces and some merchantmen.[4] The difficulties which faced James in deciding whether or not to equip an expedition are apparent in More's own attitude. On 18 July he had bemoaned the fact that the king would not send out royal ships, and yet when plans for an expedition were reported, he only hoped that 'we shall not need to be at the charge.'[5]

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1 Supra, p. 139.

2 H.M.C. Downshire, III, 106, John More to William Trumbull, 11 July 1611.

3 Ibid., pp. 108-9, More to Trumbull, 18 July 1611.

4 Ibid., p. 118, More to Trumbull.

5 Ibid.

The merchants who had been robbed favoured a cautious approach to recover their property, whilst James could look for little help from those who had escaped loss and who were therefore reluctant to make any contribution.

It was probably the prompt action of the Dutch which finally decided James not to send out his own ships. The Hollanders already had men-of-war at sea in search of the pirates, but these had been greatly impeded in their task by the fact that pirates were able to hide and refresh themselves in Irish harbours. On 13 June, the States General therefore instructed Sir Noel deCaron, their ambassador to England, to solicit James' consent for Dutch men-of-war to chase pirates into Ireland.[1] James gave his permission to Caron, and on 29 July Sir Ralph Winwood, the English ambassador to Holland, delivered James' consent before an open assembly of the States General. James tried to exercise control over the activities of the Dutch warships by insisting that they should only enter Irish ports at the invitation of his officers, and that any booty which they captured was to remain in Britain. At the news of James' consent, the States General busied itself with sending another fleet to sea and asked James to extend his concession to include Wales as well.[2] On 20 August, Salisbury informed Winwood that the king had agreed to this, but on the same conditions as in Ireland: that is, that their assistance should be requested by one of James' officers.[3]

By 15 August, the States General had informed all their commanders of the concessions in Ireland[4] and arrangements were made to reinforce the eight ships already at sea under Moy Lambert, by sending a further

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1 S.P. 84/68/78.

2 S.P. 84/68/94-5, Winwood to Salisbury, 3 August 1611.

3 S.P. 84/68/106.

4 S.P. 84/68/108, Answer of the States General concerning pirates.

eight men-of-war under the overall command of Hauteyne, vice-admiral of Zeeland. The total force of sixteen ships was to rendezvous at Falmouth, where they were to be furnished with supplies for six months at sea.[1]

At first, the Dutch were disappointed by the poor co-operation which they received in Britain. The effectiveness of Moy Lambert's squadron had been hampered by the lack of a pilot for Irish harbours, and a 'governor' of one of the ports had refused to provide him with one.[2] However, 'such misunderstandings were apparently remedied by the Council's letter to Chichester on 9 September, directing the lord deputy to give orders to all officers in Ireland to assist the Dutch and to provide pilots if required.[3]

Yet Anglo-Dutch collaboration to suppress piracy was never a great success, for although the Hollanders captured some pirate ships,[4] their overbearing conduct caused James considerable anxiety. On 21 July 1612, the Privy Council asked Winwood to seek restitution for an English vessel which had been spoiled by one of the Dutch warships, captained by Peeter Corson.[5] Furthermore, the Spanish complained that the Dutch

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1 S.P. 84/68/111, Winwood to Salisbury, 20 August 1611. Hauteyne's squadron was at Falmouth early in 1612 (S.P. 84/68/225, Caron to Salisbury, 21 January 1612).

2 S.P. 84/68/101, Winwood to Salisbury, 15 August 1611.

3 C.S.P. Ir. 1611-14, p.101. The governor was Crook of Baltimore (supra, p.117).

4 Supra, p.157.

5 S.P. 84/68/295, Minute of the Privy Council for Winwood, 21 July 1612. The captain of the English ship was Richard Gifford, who had, ironically, been issued with a commission to capture pirates for the Bounty of London, 300 tons, on 30 May 1611 (H.C.A. 14/42/197).

were using their right to police the British coast in order to blockade Dunkirkers in harbour, contrary to the peace treaty of 1604.[1] The agreement between England and Holland probably lapsed in 1614, when the Dutch blatantly exceeded their powers. In that year, Moy Lambert attacked Captain Myagh's pirate ship after it had surrendered at Crookhaven in Ireland. The Dutch ran the vessel aground, pursued the pirates on land, severely wounded Thomas Smith, one of the admiralty officers, and killed some of the local inhabitants, before triumphantly carrying off the pirates' loot, worth at least £5,000.[2] James made a strong protest to the States General, who excused Lambert's action, as 'a fault committed rather by ignorance.'[3] The case was eventually settled,[4] but the Dutch never appear to have exercised the privilege of policing the British coast again.

James' concessions to the Dutch were in part responsible for the pirates not accepting the general pardon in 1611, because, as they rightly feared, the government was offering to pardon them on the one

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1 H.M.C. Salisbury, XXI. 369, 'Memoires en l'audience avec sa Majesté', before 24 May 1612.

2 Supra, p.157. H.M.C. Downshire, IV. 398, Robert, Viscount Lysle to [Trumbull], 8 May 1614; A.P.C. 1615-16, pp. 513-4, 30 April 1616.

3 H.M.C. Downshire, IV. 415, Abraham Williams to Sir John Throckmorton, 29 May 1614.

4 After Caron had given assurances of fair dealing, the case was heard before the Dutch admiralty court. Thomas Boothby, a London merchant who owned much of the goods which had been in Myagh's possession, and Thomas Smith, the unfortunate officer, were awarded damages of £1,200. (A.P.C. 1616-17, p.341.)

hand and trying to coerce them on the other. The task of carrying the news of the pardon to the pirates was entrusted to Captain Roger Middleton, who was accompanied on his mission by Humphrey Curson, an Exeter merchant, and William Perpointe. After some delays Middleton arrived in Ireland on 17 August 1611, only to find that the pirates, fearing to tarry on the coast any longer because of the threat from the Dutch men-of-war, had left ten days earlier.[1]

Middleton was later to be accused of gross mismanagement of his mission, but even at this early stage, his mishandling of the situation was apparent. On 2 October, Henry Skipwith, deputy vice-admiral of Munster, wrote to complain that Middleton and Curson had been 'to lavishe in divulginge the contents of the pardon', which led the pirates to believe that a pardon could be easily obtained at a future date. Worse still, aiders and abettors of piracy, who were given generous terms in the pardon, grew so contemptuous of authority that Skipwith reported that:

> ... they will obey no officer belonging to the admiralty, nor appeare upon any summons given by me and the Judge ...[2]

Leaving Skipwith, 'who dwells not far from the places of their wonted access',[3] to negotiate the pardon of any pirates who might return to Ireland, Middleton followed the pirate fleet south to Mamora with two ships, the James of Plymouth, and the Philip Bonaventure of Dover (which had been plundered by Easton earlier that year).

The story of Middleton's conduct at Mamora, as told by his fellow negotiator Humphry Curson and two of the pirate captains, Baugh and Stephenson,[4] leaves little doubt that he mismanaged the mission and was

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1 C.S.P. Ir. 1611-14, p.99, Middleton to Salisbury, 23 August 1611.

2 Lambeth Palace, S.P. Carew, vol. 629, f. 177.

3 C.S.P. Ir. 1611-14, p.178, Chichester to Salisbury, 10 December 1611. He lived at Castle Park (H.C.A. 13/98/31: 26 February 1613).

4 The following details of the negotiations have been taken mainly from their examinations at H.C.A. 13/98/22-4, 76-8, 82-3: 27 January, 3, 23 July 1613. See also 13/98/129-30: 28 October 1613; 13/42/156-8: 22 May 1613.

guilty of using his position of trust for his own financial advancement. As soon as he arrived, he busied himself with extracting personal gratuities from the pirates. Most of the captains gave him £10 in recognition of his service in bringing the pardon, and he received many other personal gifts besides. In his favour, it can be said that some attempt was made to recover the goods which the pirates had plundered from the Concord and the Philip Bonaventure. Perpointe gave Baugh £260 for some cloth and Middleton borrowed £200 from Captain Stephenson to purchase some more goods from Baugh. Middleton also bought tobacco from Captain Gay, and purchased 250 Indian hides at five shillings each, which he later sold at Plymouth for sixteen shillings a hide. Although it seems likely that Middleton made a profit, such transactions can be considered legitimate, since Middleton and other members of the mission had almost certainly been instructed in England to recover the merchants' goods, even if they had to buy them back.[1] However, Middleton's opportunism and avarice were strongly in evidence. He was among the first to board and have his pick of a West Indiaman which the English pirates had taken from the Dutch corsair Peter Peck. Baugh was so outraged by this that he drove Middleton from his own ship, forcing him to seek asylum with Captain Stephenson. More seriously, it was alleged that Middleton had encouraged some of the pirates to remain at sea and to take more prizes before surrendering. He gave permission to Captain Hughs to seize a vessel of Leghorn or Marseilles, which was then at Mamora with a cargo worth £5,000, but the plan misfired when Hughs grounded his ship whilst attempting to make the capture. Middleton also provided Baugh with gungowder and arranged for him to stay at sea in search of further booty and then to surrender in Ireland, where Middleton promised that he would make provision for his pardon.

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1 The London merchants certainly sent men with Middleton. Samuel Brown, a grocer, who received his instructions from Mr. Husband and other adventurers in the Concord, was one such (H.C.A. 13/42/187: 28 June 1613).

Easton was intended to be the main recipient of the general pardon, but at no stage did Middleton attempt to contact him, although he was reported to be at Mesa, near Mamora. In fact, the pirate captains prepared a ship to take Middleton to Easton, but he refused to go, and would not allow Curson to carry the king's pardon to Easton either. Francke, White and Adyn amongst the pirate captains were so outraged by Middleton's behaviour that they refused the pardon outright, and threatened to carry him to Leghorn with the pardon hung round his neck.

Nevertheless, the majority of the captains accepted, and Middleton sailed for England, leaving Curson in Morocco to negotiate the pardon with Easton.[1] On 4 December 1611, Middleton was reported to be returning home as captain of the pirates' best ship, which had been fitted out by Gay and Stephenson.[2] He sailed to Ireland with the pirates and then left them to go to England to obtain an up-to-date copy of the pardon. The negotiations at this stage still appeared difficult to the government, because it was reported that the pirates who were standing off in Ireland did not trust the pardon, and were threatening to sail to Leghorn.[3] A new pardon was issued on 11 February 1612, and on about 1 March Middleton returned with it to Ireland.[4] Under the terms of the new pardon, the pirates were allowed to keep their booty - a concession which was later blamed on Middleton, who was said to have advised them to stick out for better conditions.[5] He certainly procured a new pardon for Captain Stephenson after he had come to Ireland with better terms than the old pardon, which Stephenson had already accepted at Mamora.[6]

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1 Curson soon returned home, because he feared that his young wife might run off with another man (H.C.A. 13/98/151: 16 December 1613).

2 H.M.C. Downshire, III. 196, Sir John Throckmorton to Trumbull, 4 December 1611.

3 S.P. 14/68/6, Gorges to Salisbury, 4 January 1612.

4 H.C.A. 13/42/158: 22 May 1613; 14/41/137. The pardon was for Peter Easton, William Harvy, John and William Woolmer and all their soldiers and mariners.

5 H.C.A. 14/42/111-12.

6 H.C.A. 13/42/156: 22 May 1613.

Thus the incredible situation arose whereby the pardoned pirates were allowed to retain their ill-gotten gains, and the original purpose of extending the general pardon, to enable the merchants to recover their property, was in the main defeated.

The government seems to have honoured its promises under the new pardon. For example, when Hughs and his crew only received scant payment for returning their booty to the rightful owners, an order in Council of 7 June 1612 upheld the right of each of the ex-pirates to their share of the true value of the stolen goods.[1] Some pirate captains even went so far as to use the High Court of Admiralty to lay claim to booty which they said was legally theirs.[2]

On 6 May 1612, Nottingham ordered the admiralty judge to appoint commissioners at Plymouth, Weymouth, in Ireland and the Thames, to make inventories of the pirates' goods.[3] The pirates were directed to travel to London to have their pardons duly recorded in the admiralty court and to answer certain articles which had been framed against Middleton.[4] The only steps which seem to have subsequently been taken against Middleton were set forth in a petition which was presented to the Privy Council about November 1612,

> ... conteyning sundry informacions of fraudes and notorious abuses supposed to be done by Captaine Roger Middleton, when hee was employed to carry his Majesties pardon to the said Easton and his consortes ...[5]

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1 H.C.A. 30/858, bundle E, 1612-20.

2 Supra, p.148.

3 H.C.A. 14/42/106.

4 H.C.A. 14/42/11-12.

5 A.P.C. 1613-14, p.69; H.C.A. 13/98/143: 27 November 1613. Middleton proved eager to defend himself (A.P.C. 1613-14, pp. 69, 158), and called several witnesses to he admiralty court to testify on his behalf (H.C.A. 13/98/66-7, 149-50: 18 June, 16 December 1613). Henry Skipwith, who had accused Middleton of mismanaging the pardon in Ireland, was himself guilty of witholding pirate booty and trafficking with pirates (A.P.C. 1613-14, pp. 320, 333, 385-7; H.C.A. 13/98/18-9: 19 January 1613).

The general pardon was kept open throughout 1612, but to prevent the abuses and delays of the previous year, Sir Arthur Chichester, the lord deputy of Ireland, was given special powers to negotiate the pardon of pirates in Ireland.[1] Easton eventually accepted the pardon offered by the duke of Savoy, and he and his band sailed into Villefranche in February 1613.[2] Although he had remained at large and had committed many depredations during 1612, the pardon had still achieved a considerable measure of success, for during the first half of 1612 at least a dozen pirate crews had surrendered in Britain.[3]

It was, however, apparent that the pardon alone could produce nothing more than a lull in English piratical activity. Within a few years the pardoned offenders had been replaced by new recruits and English piracy was as flourishing as ever. In 1613, Chichester, who had played an important part in implementing the pardon, questioned the wisdom of showing mercy to pirates at all:

> I thought it no good husbandry nor service for the King to make such Capitulations with Pirates, since his Majesty was driven to make reparation of their misdeeds dayly, and yet Piracy increased or continued nevertheless.[4]

That the government continued to pardon pirates, even after the general pardon of 1612 had expired, was because under certain circumstances it was still the most expedient policy. In 1614, the Council was willing to entertain pardoning Captain Myagh because he promised to restore some goods to Robert Boothby, a London merchant.[5] Again, in

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1 C.S.P. Ir. 1611-14, p.287, Lords of Council to Chichester, 27 September 1612.

2 Supra, p.88.

3 Supra, pp.145-6.

4 Analecta Hibernica, p. 112, Chichester to Privy Council, 26 June.

5 Boothby originally petitioned the Council for a pardon for Captain Peeters, who had pirated his goods off Cape Finisterre in January 1613. By 1614, Peeter's goods had passed to Myagh, and Boothby was able to get the pardon transferred. (A.P.C. 1613-14, pp. 14-5, A.P.C. 1615-16, p.14.)

1616, a general pardon was extended to Henry Mainwaring and his followers. This was possible mainly because Mainwaring's sympathetic treatment of his fellow countrymen had not excluded him from the king's grace, although James later admitted that he regretted showing mercy to Mainwaring's band.[1]

During these years the navy was not totally inactive. In 1610 the government was shocked into action by the outrageous conduct of Thomas Sockwell, who burnt some houses at Milford Haven and briefly established himself as 'king of Lundy' in opposition to James.[2] Sir William Monson was sent to Bristol, where he found the king's ship the Advantage to be 'so unserviceable in men, victuals, sails, powder, and all things else, that it was impossible to fit her to sea'. He therefore manned a bark with twenty-five men and went in pursuit of Sockwell on the Welsh coast, leaving the earl of Bath to send another bark to sea to patrol the west coast of England until the king's ship arrived.[3] Although Monson achieved nothing in 1610, four years later he sailed to Scotland and Ireland in search of pirates, captured one of their ships, and punished some relievers at Broadhaven.[4]

Coastal patrols were gradually becoming more effective. After 1614, there was more than one pinnace employed in Ireland, and towards the end of the reign Sir Thomas Button was reported to have done good service in securing the western coasts from pirates.[5] Naval vessels were also

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1 Supra, p. 165. James was particularly leinent to Thomas Tucker and his men, for although they were in the Marshalsea, he pardoned them after Mainwaring had certified that they had once served with him (H.C.A. 14/43/298-9).

2 For further details of the occupation of Lundy, see appendix II, under Sockwell.

3 Monson, Tracts, III. 349-50, Monson to Salisbury and Nottingham, 10 April 1610.

4 Supra, p. 158.

5 Supra, p. 190.

used to safeguard English fishermen. In 1615, orders were given for two small ships to accompany the east-coast fishermen into Icelandic waters, 'to waster and defend them from pyrattes for five monethes' at a cost of £1,300, and in 1621, two men-of-war were sent to protect the Newfoundland fishery.[1]

James' genuine concern to take active steps to suppress pirates is nowhere more evident than in the expedition which was sent against the Turkish corsairs of Algiers in 1620.[2] The fleet, commanded by Sir Robert Mansell and comprising six men-of-war, ten merchantmen and two pinnaces, left Plymouth on 12 October 1620.[3] Almost a year later,

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1 A.P.C. 1615-16, pp. 390-1; supra, p. 160.

2 Corbett argued that James also intended to use the expedition to cut communications between Spain and Italy in the event of Spain intervening in the war on the continent to aid the German Emperor. His evidence for the 'dual object' of the expedition was an imaginative reading of Mansell's instructions, which were, in fact, entirely consistent with the single object of punishing the Turkish pirates. (See Julian Corbett, England in the Mediterranean, 2 vols., 1904, I. 112 et seq., B.M. Add. MS. 36445, ff. 15-19, Mansell's instructions given at Windsor, 10 September 1620) In addition to his instructions, Mansell also carried a copy of the articles for joint action against the pirates which had been drawn up by England and Spain in 1619 (B.M. Add. MS 36445, ff. 11-13). Nevertheless, Corbett's view has been followed by practically every writer on the subject since. The only support which I have been able to find for it is in a letter from Vienna written by John Digby, earl of Bristol, to the Privy Council on 26 July 1621, in which he recommended that the fleet be kept at sea, for, 'in case his Majestie should be ill used, /it/ will prove the best argument he can use for the resitution of the Palatinate.' (B.M. Stowe MS 181, ff. 88 and 103). It may be noted that Digby put forward this suggestion as a novel idea, and that at the time he was writing the fleet had been at sea for almost a year.

3 S.P. 14/116/92, 'A Journal of the Algiers Voyage by J.B.'

on 18 September 1621, the ships which had remained at sea returned to the Downs, having achieved nothing of any note.[1] The cost to the king and the merchants of London and the outports had been at least £40,000 each.[2] The expedition serves to show the difficulties of equipping a force to suppress pirates far from British shores. There was little status to be gained from an expedition which might bring a band of pirates to justice, while in the likely event of failure, the loss of prestige would be great. Furthermore, the merchants of London and the outports, whom the king was trying to help, were always reluctant to make any financial contribution to the venture.[3] Although James paid his half of the costs almost immediately, the government was still trying to recover money from some towns eight years later.[4]

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1 S.P. 14/122/140, Locke to Carleton, 22 September 1621. Mansell did not launch an attack on Algiers until May, when he sent in fire-ships under cover of night. The English succeeded in firing some of the Algerine vessels inside the mole, but there was no wind to fan the flames, and a shower of rain helped the Turks to extinguish the fire. The result of the attack was that twelve Turks were killed and two or three Algerine ships were made unserviceable (S.P. 14/116/92; B.M. Harl. MS. 1581, f. 72, Mansell to Buckingham, 9 June 1621, Add. MS..36445, ff. 132-3, Mansell to Aston, 9 June 1621.)

2 Commons Debates 1621, ed. Wallace Notestein, Frances Helen Relf, Hartley Simpson, 7 vols., 1935, V. 427.

3 'The merchants of London, to their great distaste, are likely to be ordered to send out vessels against the pirates.' (C.S.P. Dom - 1619-23, p. 8, Sir Edward Harewood to Carleton, 23 January 1619.

4 C.S.P. Dom. 1619-23, p. 289, Council to Sir Thos. Smyth, Sir Thos. Lowe, and Sir Wm. Cockayne, 13 September 1621. In 1628 Chester had still paid none of her assessment of £100 (B.M. Harl. MS. 2173, f. 12, Commissioners for the examination of the account of Mansell's expedition to the mayor and aldermen of Chester, 17 April 1628).

Thus, even if James' navy had been in better condition, it might still have been inadvisable for James to have sent out a large naval force to crush English pirates. The navy was certainly inadequately prepared to meet the threat from deep-sea pirates on the Irish coast, but the general pardon which was extended by the government should not be taken as a sign of weakness or apathy. It was the merchants who persuaded the government to use the pardon, which was probably the best means of dealing with an unprecedented, but temporary, situation. Indeed, the number Dutch, who sent out men-of-war, captured fewer pirates than the total/ James pardoned. Neither can commissions to capture pirates be taken purely as an indication of naval weakness. Rather, they were a well-tried method of encouraging merchantmen to defend themselves.

The prevention of piracy was a subject which was always close to James' heart. As Correr observed, 'the King never refuses anything for the suppression of that class of people.'[1] In the end all James' good intentions hardly contributed to the collapse of English piracy either in the Atlantic or in the Mediterranean. However, measures at home, especially the piracy commissions of 1608-9, were instrumental in destroying the chain of receivers who flourished in the counties of the south-west. James took a personal interest in the reform of admiralty abuses, and attempted to bring about a change in the laws governing accessories to piracy. Despite his over-long toleration of an inept and corrupt naval administration, naval patrols became more numerous and effective. By Charles' reign, when a new breed of foreign rovers were threatening the English coast, there were few men ashore who were willing to countenance pirates and widespread trafficking was a thing of the past.

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1 C.S.P. Ven. 1607-10, p.195, Correr to Doge and Senate, 4 December 1608.

CHAPTER VIII

THE IMPACT OF PIRACY ON TRADE

It is an impossible task to make any overall assessment of the damage done by English pirates between 1603 and 1640. The most that can be done is to give some idea of the economic disruption which they caused when they were at the height of their powers, during the first twenty years of the century.

In the early years of James' reign English corsairs were particularly active in the Mediterranean. In 1604 the subjects of the duke of Florence were said to have recently lost 200,000 crowns to English pirates in the Levant, and the duke was seriously considering appointing an agent in London to deal solely with complaints concerning depredations.[1] The Venetians also suffered heavy losses at the hands of the English during the first decade of the century. Cargoes worth tens of thousands of pounds were lost and the most important trading routes of the Republic were disrupted. It was the rapaciousness of the corsairs which made the Senate decide to open diplomatic relations with England with a view to receiving compensation for the losses of Venetian merchants.[2]

It would, however, be misleading to conclude, as Tenenti does, that the English corsairs played a major role in dealing the final blow to Venetian seapower.[3] The decline in the fortunes of Venice was due to more deep-seated causes than piracy. The Republic's mercantile marine was inferior in men and ships to those of England and Holland and the ill-advised policy of protectionism embarked upon by the Senate in 1602 merely diverted trade to rival ports. The spice trade, once a Venetian preserve, but long in decline, was further eroded during the first quarter of the seventeenth century by England and Holland's exploitation of the ocean route to the Far East. Venice's domestic industries, especially cloth, suffered from high labour costs and conservative design and fared badly against north European competition. Worse still, Venice's hinterland was contracting rapidly. By the start of the

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1 S.P. 78/49/56, Thomas Parry to Cecil, 14 April 1604.

2 Supra, p. 52

3 Tenenti, Piracy and the Decline of Venice, p. 56.

seventeenth century she had ceased to act as an entrepreneur in eastern commodities in France and England and she soon lost Germany, her most important remaining market, through the ravages of the Thirty Year's War.[1]

In these circumstances it can be seen that piracy was only one more thorn in the side of the ailing Republic. It is true that the damage caused by pirates may have been aggravated by a shortage of timber supplies which made it difficult to replace those vessels which were lost or captured at sea. However, this problem may have been solved by a relaxation of the regulations which forbade Venetians to purchase foreign vessels.[2] This is probably the explanation of the fact that between 1600 and 1610, when the Republic suffered most heavily at the hands of English pirates, there was a slight increase in the numbers of Venetian-owned merchantmen.[2] Thus, although English pirates caused considerable damage to Venetian trade, their activities were a short-lived, if spectacular phenomenon, which really did little to undermine the economic and maritime power of Venice.

In the decade after the conclusion of peace, English pirates caused as much disruption to traffic in the Ocean as they did in the Mediterranean. An interesting petition, has survived from a French merchant,

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1 See Brian Pullan (ed.) Crisis and Change in the Venetian Economy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, 1968, esp. p. 10. The protectionist measure which ordered that all goods to be carried in Venetian bottoms whenever possible forced the English and Dutch to resort to ports such as Leghorn and Goro (ibid., pp. 94-5).

2 Ibid., pp. 6-7.

3 Ibid., p. 96.

Guillaume Bouillon, which gives a detailed account of French losses from the arrival of de la Boderie, the French ambassador, to England, in mid-1606, until 9 January 1608.[1] In just eighteen months, fifteen vessels were taken, besides two damaged barks which belonged to Bouillon himself. The ports which were most affected were St. Gilles in Poitou, and Olonne, which both lost four ships. Le Havre and La Rochelle also lost vessels, while two barks of St. Jean-de-Luz, two of Marennes and another from Granville were captured. The French were particularly incensed because much of the loot had been disposed of in England. From the figure given it is not possible to calculate the total losses for the eighteen-month period. Several of the ships were laden with corn, and cannot have been worth more than a few hundred pounds, but some were exceptionally rich. One ship of St. Gilles, the St. Anne, was carrying gold and silver valued at £36,000, while the ship of Le Havre, the Hunter, was reputed to be worth £50,000. Since these figures were presented by the French they should be viewed cautiously. The indictments drawn up by the English admiralty show the St. Anne to have been carrying gold doubloons and Spanish coin worth only £1,150, and the Hunter together with her cargo, to have been worth no more than £4,550.[2]

Nevertheless, French losses must have been considerable by any reckoning. In a similar period to that covered by the petition, from June 1606 to February 1608, the English admiralty drew up indictments for piracies on thirteen French vessels. The losses given by the English

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1 H.M.C. Salisbury, XX. 13-14.

2 The St. Anne was captured on 10 February 1607 off Cape St. Vincent by a man-of-war of Rotterdam, crewed by seventeen Englishmen and twenty-six Dutchmen. Some of the loot was sold in Barbary, but the ship itself, laden with 1,870 hides and thirty-seven bags of ginger, besides cochineal and sugar, sank off Salcombe on her way to Holland. The only items mentioned in the English indictments are gold doubloons and Spanish coin. (H.C.A. 1/5/159, 160; 1/46/332, 344-8: 13 April, 12 May 1607.) The Hunter was taken in the roadstead at Safi on 1 October 1606 with a cargo of cottons, barley and other goods belonging to merchants of Rouen (H.C.A. 1/5/143).

court, which were probably a conservative estimate, total nearly £19,000.[1] Thus it can be safely said that on average during this period, a French vessel was taken almost every month involving a loss well in excess of £1,000.

The Spanish bore the brunt of English depredations, since their trade was particularly vulnerable to English corsairs operating in the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. In 1606, the Spanish ambassador in London complained of the spoils which English pirates made on shipping coming from Brazil and elsewhere.[2] Two years later, on 2 November 1608, news came from Lisbon of thirty sail of English and Dutch pirate vessels lying off the Spanish coast between the north and south capes. It was also reported that the king of Spain had recently lost 20,000 ducats in customs duties, which is some indication of the heavy losses suffered by the merchants.[3] Clearly, piracies were occurring with such regularity that they were endangering the king's revenues as well as the merchants' profits. In the same year, Hugh Lee wrote from Lisbon that pirates were so numerous on the coast,

> ... that noe true man can escape from being robbed or pillaged by theym. Yt ys very high tyme to looke into the disordered courses of these Myselyvinge Pyrats, who Robb From all Christian princes ... for besids the impoverisshinge of the Christian subjects; by taking away theyre goods, they doe alsoe Robb the Kinge of every of those subjects, of his Customes and duties which he should enjoye by the saffe arryvall of those goods in his Kingdom ...[4]

By 1610, English pirates had become so successful in their trade that both the French and Spanish ambassadors were pressing James to pardon them, gaining some restitution.[5] Yet the spoils continued. A

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1 Appendix I(a).

2 H.M.C. Salisbury, XVIII. 432.

3 S.P. 89/3/109.

4 S.P. 89/3/105, Lee to [Thomas Wilson], 25 August 1608.

5 Supra, p. 308.

document has survived amongst the State Papers, France, entitled 'A Remonstrance to their Lordships of the English Piracyes in 1610 and 1611 against ye marchants of Rochelle only.' Seventeen vessels are listed as having been plundered between 1610 and 1612, thetotal lossesfrom which are given as 362,000 French francs. Although this remonstrance purports to relate only to merchants of La Rochelle, it seems more likely that it includes the total losses to shipping in which the merchants of the town had some interest. Of the seventeen vessels plundered, only five ships and two barks were from La Rochelle itself. Others came from nearby places on the French coast - including three from Olonne and two from the Ile de Ré. At least one ship was Flemish and some may have been Spanish-owned. The greatest disruption to La Rochelle's trade occurred in voyages to the Iberian peninsula, but ships trading to Barbary, Italy and the Canaries were also plundered. The pirates' loot included sugar, wine, money and some cochineal and Campeachy wood which was being transported from Spain to La Rochelle in French bottoms.[1] Although it would be unwise to put too much reliance on the French claims that La Rochelle alone had lost 362,000 francs in about two years, it is nevertheless clear that English piracy was seriously disrupting the trade of south-west France.

No similar figures appear to have survived for Spanish losses during these years, but they were probably as great as those of France. In 1612, at an audience with James, the Spanish ambassador declared that the English pirates had,

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1 S.P. 78/60/281-2, [1612]. Francke, who took five vessels was the most successful pirate captain, while Baugh, Roope and Hussy are also mentioned. Some of the losses are given in livres rather than francs, but since it is improbable that a ship trading to the Canaries in sugar could be worth £30,000, I have taken all figures as francs. One vessel was captured in 1610, ten in 1611 and six in 1612. There is also a further list of losses totalling 293,000 francs for which no reparation had been made by English justice. Such claims are notoriously unreliable and in any case probably include losses detailed in Bouillon's petition of 1608.

> ...done more damage since the conclusion of the peace than before in time of war. Even the Dutch do not do so much.[1]

While French and Spanish merchants were suffering such heavy losses, English trade was comparatively unaffected. In May 1612, Sir John Digby, writing from Madrid to report the capture of two ships of St. Malo and a Flemish vessel trading with Spain, said:

> Wee are heere much troubled with ye complaints that are lately come against our Englishe pyratts ... But thei have dealte very honestly of late with their countrymen. For having taken a shipp of London bound for Sevill worth 16 or 20 thousand pound, thei have sent ye merchants all their goods. Insomuche that one of them, that had to the valewe of 2,000 l. in the shipp, sends mee worde, that hee hath not loste ten pound.[2]

Apart from trading to the south with less risk of being plundered than the French or Spanish, some English merchants managed to make a handsome profit from trafficking in pirate goods. In 1607, the Spanish ambassador advised James that:

> ... many merchants of the kingdom do no other business than equip (armer) the pirates, purchase their captures and send munitions of war to the Turks.[3]

Lionel Cranfield was probably one of those who indulged in trafficking with pirates. In May 1607, Captain Alexander Vaughan and Captain William Blaunche captured the Pearl of Calais off the southern coast of Spain, and carried her to Larache in Barbary, where they disposed of the best goods to two Lisbon Jews for sale in England. Part of the loot was loaded into the Jonathan of London, and then, off the southern cape of Spain, it was alleged that eleven barrels of indigo, seven and a half barrels of cochineal and £642 in Spanish reals of eight were transferred into the Peter of London, which had been freighted by Lionel Cranfield and William Massam. On reaching London, certain pirate booty in the Peter

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1 H.M.C. Salisbury, XXI. 369. Before 24 May 1612.

2 H.M.C. Tenth Report, I. 578, Digby to Sir Thomas Edmondes, 11 May 1612.

3 H.M.C. Salisbury, XIX. 170, [3 July].

was declared, but Cranfield and Massam claimed that it had not been taken from the Pearl. The goods were confiscated by the lord admiral and sold off at very low rates - only to be purchased by Cranfield and Massam, who re-sold them abroad at a large profit. The freighters of the Pearl subsequently sued Cranfield and Massam for recovery of their goods. However, since the marks had been cut off the packs, it was difficult for the freighters to prove that the goods were theirs.[1]

The illegal traffic in pirate booty may have favoured the unscrupulous or opportunist trader, to the detriment of the honest merchant. There was so much contraband for sale at bargain prices that law-abiding traders could not afford to compete and were sometimes forced out of the market. In 1610, John Harrison reported that the pirates had so much loot at Mamora, 'which they sell at soe reasonable a rate as the merchants that escape theyr hands have little doings.'[2]

Although some men made a profit, the English mercantile community in general suffered indirectly as a result of their countrymens' depredations. Soon after James' accession, English merchants in France had to bear the brunt of French anger at spoils done by English rovers. After a pirate had run off with a bark of St. Jean-de-Luz, which was returning from a Newfoundland voyage, Richard Cook wrote from Bayonne that:

> ... those [French] marreners doe keepe suche a swaggeringe [complaining] that wee dare not goe to St. Jean de Luz.[3]

The reaction at Marseilles to English piracies was particularly severe. English merchants were imprisoned, their goods seized and one English ship was captured in the harbour after a fierce battle. In Paris, Thomas

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1 H.M.C. Sackville, I. 158-9, 13 May 1608.

2 S.P. 71/12/82, Harrison to Salisbury, 10 June 1610.

3 S.P. 78/50/19, 28 September 1603.

Parry's demands for reparations merely met with counter-claims from the French, for whom English piracy provided a ready-made excuse for the denial of justice.[1] The French also reacted by issuing letters of reprisal which seriously hampered the English wine trade with Bordeaux and La Rochelle.[2] Sometimes such commissions were little better than an excuse for the French themselves to try their hand at piracy. As late as 1624, French ships were marauding on the south-west coast of England under letters of reprisal for £15,000, which had been issued for a spoil committed many years earlier by Mainwaring on a French vessel not worth above £1,000.[3]

The situation was even worse for English merchants trading to Spain, where the continual news of the successes of the pirates only served to increase the deep-rooted political and religious hatred between the two countries. Peace with Spain did not result in a smooth resumption of trade. In contravention of the Treaty of London, the Spanish placed an impost of 30% on English ships trading to the Canaries, while they made new impositions at will and put an embargo on

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1 S.P. 78/49/211, Parry to Cecil, 28 July 1603; 78/50/103,113, 12, 20 November 1603; 78/51/163, 15 May 1603. In September 1603, Henry IV informed Parry that eighteen French ships had been recently spoiled by English pirates. One piracy at Lisbon was particularly heinous, for it was reported that French mariners had been rolled in the sails and thrown into the sea (S.P. 78/50/21, Parry to Cecil, 29 September 1603).

2 S.P. 78/52/152, Parry to Cecil, 10 June 1605. In 1613 a ship sent out under a commission from M. Licinett, the governor of Concorina in Brittany, took the Grace of God bound for Bordeaux, and also plundered a Plymouth vessel of her lading of kersies, butter and fish (H.C.A. 13/98/141-2: 23 November 1613).

3 C.S.P. Dom. 1623-5, p. 173, Roger Hill to Thos. Brereton, 1 March 1624.

English shipping at Lisbon. Any vessel carrying prohibited goods was confiscated along with all its cargo. Englishmen suffered hardships at the hands of the Inquisition and some were sent to the gallies, while others were forced to serve in Spanish ships against the Dutch.[1] Hugh Lee, whose letters from Lisbon are preoccupied with the cruelty of the Spanish, remarked that even the Dutch, who were at war with Spain, were better treated than the English.[2] Sir Charles Cornwallis' negotiations in Spain (1605-06) achieved little because English complaints were simply met by Spanish counter-claims that English pirates were serving the Dutch and using English harbours.[3] In September 1606, Cornwallis wrote despairingly to Sir Henry Wotton:

> ... if thus things Contynue, in myne opinion the peace wilbe as perillous to himself (James) and much more disadvantageous to his Subjects than the warre.[4]

The situation in which English merchants both in France and Spain found themselves was all the more galling because, while England remained at peace, James refused to grant letters of reprisal to compensate them for the indignities and losses which they had sustained.

Not all English ships were lucky enough to escape scot-free. Many English pirates treated their fellow countrymen leinently, but some made no special concessions. In March 1610, the Blessing of London, returning

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1 S.P. 89/3/62, 'A Briefe Remonstrance of the trade with the Maine of Spaine, the Islands of Tenerife and the Grand Canaryes and Portugall.' [? 1605] See also James' objections made to the Spanish ambassador, B.M. Harl. MS. 1875, f. 560, 22 August 1606.

2 S.P. 89/3/52, Lee to Salisbury, [c. June 1605].

3 B.M. Harl. MS. 1875, ff. 537-8, Salisbury to Cornwallis, 12 July 1606.

4 Ibid., f.563, 29 September 1606.

from the Canaries with a cargo of sugar, was intercepted by an English pirate ship. After taking a couple of men, the pirates released the Blessing with her cargo intact. Forty leagues off the Scillies she was taken again - this time by Captain Barnicott alias Philip Roope, lieutenant to Thomas Sockwell, who seized five chests of sugar and all the ship's guns, powder, shot and other equipment, besides stripping the sailors of their clothes and possessions.[1] The longer pirates remained at sea, the less scrupulous they became. Sir John Digby, who had praised the patriotism of English pirates in 1612, wrote from Madrid on 10 October 1613 that:

> ... all our merchants complain so generally and justly of their great losses by pirates of our own country that I shall hereafter have less compassion of those that fall into misery.[2]

English pirates caused considerable inconvenience to English shipping by their practice of commandeering men, victuals and arms. Although such losses were not crippling, they could ruin a voyage by forcing a ship to put back to port. For example, in 1610, the Nicholas of London, bound for the Mediterranean with salmon, was forced to return to England after victuals, arms and some of her crew had been taken by Easton and his consorts off Cape Finisterre.[3] The cruise of William Clark in Icelandic waters in the summer of 1614 was particularly damaging to the east coast fishermen, for he took his supplies from nearly twenty barks, which came mainly from the ports of Aldeburgh, Harwich and Yarmouth.[4] Richard Hall, the master of one of these fishing

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1 H.C.A. 1/47/122: 15 May 1610.

2 H.M.C. Downshire, IV. 217, Digby to William Trumbull.

3 H.C.A. 1/47/253-4: 25 November 1611.

4 H.C.A. 13/98/219: 13 September 1614. These included the Robert and John and two other boats of Yarmouth, the Sybil and the Solomon of Harwich, the Mary of Aldeburgh, a ship of Sisewell, Suffolk, the Joyce of London, the Valentine of Wapping, and a ship of Wells.

boats, testified that he and his men had fled ashore and hidden their clothes, mistaking the pirates for Biscayners, but Clark had threatened that 'they should prove as bad.' After the pirates had taken four of his men, Hall was forced to cut short his fishing and make his way home as best he could.[1]

Of course, traders could insure themselves against losses by piracy. In the early seventeenth century there were two methods of insurance in existence. The first and more archaic method was called 'bottomry', whereby the insurer gave money to the merchant. If the voyage was a success, the insurer received his money back with interest, but if the ship or goods were lost, his captial was forfeited. This system amounted to little more than a shared risk, and may, Prowse believes, have been practised by west-country fishermen.[2] The second and more common form of insurance, regulated by a statute of 1601, was similar to the modern method of payment of a premium to cover the loss of ship and goods.[3]

Insurance contracts were made at the Assurance Office in Gresham's Royal Exchange, although insurance broking was not yet a profession in its own right. Policies were carried around the Exchange and might eventually be underwritten by several men, usually merchants or others who had some connection with the sea.[4] For example, the Turtle Dove of

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1 H.C.A. 13/98/221-3: 13 September 1614.

2 Prowse, History of Newfoundland, pp. 84-5.

3 The act of 1601, which was a result of the expense and delay involved in prosecuting insurance claims at law, set up a special court to try cases of marine insurance. (Frederic Martin, The History of Lloyd's and of Marine Insurance in Great Britain, 1876, pp. 11-12)

4 Policies were sometimes underwritten by as many as seventeen men. Martin suggested that the burden was often spread amongst several small insurers because the registrar of assurances was bound to carry policies around all the underwriters, thus giving them all a chance to participate (Martin, op.cit., p.43).

London, captured by Turkish pirates in 1619, was insured for £100, with Mr. Duncomb, a London merchant, and Richard Chamblett, a Limehouse mariner.[1] Round sums of money were sometimes involved and policies did not necessarily cover the full value of ship and goods. Although the essence of insurance was to prevent a heavy loss falling on a few, policies were also made to cover goods worth as little as £20. This was the sum for which the Ellen and Rose, captured by French pirates, was insured.[2]

Unfortunately, very little evidence has survived for the study of insurance in the seventeenth century. By an act of 1540, disputes over insurance were to be referred to the admiralty, and a special tribunal was set up for that purpose. The court, however, does not appear to have given much satisfaction to underwriters or merchants, and there is evidence to suggest that most disputes were dealt with by independent arbitrators of some standing in the mercantile community.[3] In 1601, a Court of Assurances was set up by act of parliament to provide a more satisfactory tribunal for marine insurance. However, insurers did not welcome attempts to control or regulate their business. They wished to keep their agreements and their rates secret and were used to conducting their own affairs, thereby avoiding the payment of special fees. The Court of Assurances was a failure. Its activities were confined to London and it dealt only with claims by the insured. Whatever records might have been kept do not appear to have survived.[4]

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1 H.C.A. 1/48/261: 17 November 1619.

2 H.C.A. 1/48/300: 15 March 1619. The Dove of Bristol, taken by Turks in 1619, had a cargo of hides, calf skins and pipe staves valued at £302. However, the ship alone was worth £320, and the merchants' losses were only partially covered by the insurance (H.C.A. 1/48/287: 20 January 1620?)

3 See Marsden, Select Pleas, II. lxxx, and Harold E. Raynes, A History of British Insurance, 1948, p.29. Marsden has found twenty cases relating to insurance, mostly of the late sixteenth century, which have survived in the admiralty records: See Marsden, op. cit., II. 45 et seq.

4 Charles Wright and C. Ernest Fayle, A History of Lloyds, 1928, pp. 37-8; Marsden, op.cit., II. lxxx.

It is difficult to say how widespread the practice of insuring was among English traders and ship-owners. It may be that many only insured themselves in times of extreme danger. In 1613, some English merchants, whose ship, the Susan Bonaventure, was at Seville, were not insured. However, fearing that the crew, who appeared mutinous, would run away with their ship and turn to piracy, the merchants hastily wrote to London to negotiate a policy.[1] This episode illumintes what may have been another factor in determining the frequency of insurance; that English merchants trading overseas, who had left England uninsured, were reluctant to insure with/foreigners because of the difficulty of making a claim in another country.[2] No doubt many took a chance and sailed without any cover. In the event of their ship being lost, merchants and ship-owners had to bear their own losses, for under the law merchant, they had no redress against a master who lost his vessel to pirates, unless negligence could be proved.[3]

Because of the paucity of the evidence, it is also difficult to assess what the normal rates were for premiums, and by how much they were likely to vary. Even in the few policies which have survived, premiums are rarely stated, because rates, being competitive, were usually kept secret. In his Lex Mercatoria, Gerard Malynes, writing about 1620, gives a sensible assessment of the various rates of insurance which were then in operation:

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1 H.C.A. 13/98/121: 22 October 1613.

2 See R.G. Marsden, T.R.H.S., XVI (1902), p.83.

3 Dorothy O. Shilton and Richard Holworthy, High Court of Admiralty Examinations 1637-1638, 1932, p. xxv.

> Concerning the price of Assurances or Premio (as the Spaniards call it) it is differing in all places, according to the scituation of the place, and the times either of warre or peace, or daunger of Pirats, men of warre, or rockes, and unaccessible places, seasons of the yeare and such like: and the said Premio was never lesse than at this time, for Assurances are made for Middleborough and Amsterdam at 3 pro cent. the like from London to Roan and Diepe, Edenborough in Scotland, and Hamborough in East-land: and from London to Bourdeaux and Rochell, Lubecke, Denmarke, 4 upon the hundreth: as also for Barbarie, for Lixborne, Biscay, Ireland, Dansicke, Riga, Reuell, and Sweaden, 5 in the hundreth: Sivill, Gibraltar, Maliga, and the Islands, 6 and 7: for Ligorne, Civita Vecchia, 8 and 9: Venice 10, Wardhouse 9, Russia 9, Santo domingo 11 and 12: and for the East-Indies 15; nay both for going and comming hath bin made at 20 pro centum.[1]

There is scarcely any tangible evidence on which to base an assessment of the effect which piracy had upon rates of insurance. It is, however, important to remember that piracy was only one of many threats to shipping. Malynes was of the opinion that piracy was more or less a constant risk, which was unlikely to have had much effect on premiums one way or the other:

> The losses which ordinarily, according to the seasons of the yeare happen upon the Seas are knowne: the like is, more or lesse, with men of warre, enemies, Pirats, Rovers and theeves, especially with men of warre in times of hostilitie (as it is in times of peace by Pirats, Rovers or theeves) ...

Three surviving cases where insurance premiums are known might be cited in support of Malynes belief that piracy only exerted a marginal effect on rates. They all concern vessels undertaking voyages towards the Straits when the risk of capture by Turkish pirates was very high. On 25 July 1609, the Hope of London, carrying a cargo of various cloths, was captured at Mogador by the English renegade Captain Sampson. Thomas Offley, a London merchant, lost goods in the ship to the sum of £1,607 16s. 3d., which he had insured for a premium of £50 5s. 0d. Thus,

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1 Gerard Malynes, Lex Mercatoria or the Antient Law Merchant, 1629, p.150.

2 Ibid., p. 151.

insurance cost Offley slightly more than 3% of the total value of his goods, or less than the customs duty on them, which was reckoned at £58.[1] On 15 February 1614, a contract of insurance was drawn up at the Royal Exchange for the Tiger of London, which was due to sail for Zante and other Venetian islands in the eastern Mediterranean, with a cargo of wool, linen cloth, lead, kersies and iron. In this case the rate was 4%.[2] On 4 November 1616, a policy was made at the Royal Exchange for the Hare of Newcastle, which was sailing from Hamburg to Cadiz with a cargo of barley, worth in all £437 11s. 7d. The Hare and her lading were insured for £400 at a premium of £18 2s. od. - slightly less than 5%.[3] Thus, in three cases at least, insurance rates were less than 5%, even at times of extreme danger on trading routes much frequented by pirates. When it is considered that insurance for the hazardous voyage to Newfoundland was 7% in 1604, and did not fall to 4% until the Protectorate,[4] the risks from pirates hardly appear to have made rates excessive.

Presumably, if risks became too great, merchants and fishermen would not put to sea at all, and if they were foolhardy enough to do so, insurers would refuse to give them cover. In 1609, the report that three English ships had been taken by Ward and Danser in the Mediterranean caused such a stir in London that it was reported that:

> The merchants are all in confusion on this account; no ships venture to put out nor is there anyone who will insure except at excessive rates.[5]

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1 H.C.A. 1/47/50, 'A note of all shuch goods as was taken out of the Hope of London by Captain Sampsonn and his Turkes the 25 July 1609 and was for the Account proper of my Master Thomas Offley'.

2 Martin, op. cit., pp. 46-8.

3 H.C.A. 1/48/314: 23 May 1620.

4 Prowse, op. cit., pp.84-5.

5 C.S.P. Ven. 1607-10, p.282, Correr to Doge and Senate, 10 June.

Some merchants may have made a profit out of being plundered. In the parliament of 1621, a complaint was made that charter-parties could not be verified, since masters took documents to sea, and if the ship was lost, then the details of the charter-party were lost with it, (for the scriveners rarely bothered to make a copy for themselves, and the merchants would only produce their copy if it was to their advantage.)[1] Thus, it was impossible for the insurers to verify the true value of the goods at the time when the ship was lost, and merchants could make false claims on their policies. Another method of defrauding the insurers was to take out two separate policies of insurance on the same ship and try to claim on them both. Others tried more obvious methods. For example, Christopher Webb sailed from Leghorn with his ship and cargo heavily insured, intending either to sink his ship or to claim that she had been captured by pirates.[2]

Thus, from the scant evidence which has survived, it seems that piracy only had a marginal effect on insurance rates in England. In any case, the practice of insuring was probably not so common among English traders as it was with foreigners, especially the Italians. Early in the century, the Venetian secretary observed that English pirates had fewer scruples about plundering Venetian ships, 'because there is a firm opinion here that all Venetians are secured fully, and sometimes for more than the value of the captial embarked.'[3] It may have been because English merchantmen went to sea without cover that the English enjoyed a reputation for fighting to the death in defence of their property.

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1 Commons Debates 1621, ed. Notestein, Relf and Simpson, VII. 272.

2 Supra, pp.87-8.

3 Supra, p.47.

The greatest repercussions of English piracy came from the establishment of lawless Christian seamen in the ports of North Africa in the early years of the century. Before this, the Turks and Moors had only used gallies, but now, under the expert tuition of northern masters and pilots, they soon mastered the techniques of navigation and of sailing round ships, as well as receiving useful instruction in the art of gunnery. The role of the English in transforming the Barbary marine was well-known to contemporaries.[1] John Ward did for Tunis what Simon Danser, a Dutchman, did for Algiers, although the latter only remained with the Turks for about three years. The impact of these changes was felt almost immediately. Pirate vessels sent out from Algiers and Tunis not only became more menacing in the inland sea, but the Turks' new-found ships and skills also enabled them to extend their

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[1] On this subject see: Barker, op. cit., preface. Savary de Brèves, Relation des Voyages de Monsieur de Brèves, pp. 304, 306-7; Pierre Dan, Histoire de Barbarie et de ses Corsaires, p. 312; P. Grandchamp, 'Une mission délicate en Barbarie au xviie siècle,' Revue Tunisienne, XXXI and XXXII (1937), p. 471; W. Lithgow, Rare Adventures and painful peregrinations, p. 169; Emanuel Van Meteren, Histoire des Pays-Bas, p. 666; Capt. John Smith, Works 1608-1631, ed. Edward Arber, p. 915; John Stow , Annales, ed. Edmund Howes, 1631, p. 893; Archives des Voyages, ed. H. Ternaux-Compans, 2 vols., Paris 1841, I. 224. Even Robert Dabone, the playwrite, realised Ward's importance:

> he that hath showne you
> The way to conquer Europe, did first impart,
> What your forefathers knew not, the seamans art ...
> (A Christian turn'd Turke, Act 1, Sc. 5).

This was not the first time the Barbary corsairs had ventured outside the Straits. In 1585, Murad Reis sailed 'out of sight of land, which no Algerine had ever dared to do before', and sacked Lanzerote. (Stanley Lane-Poole, The Barbary Corsairs, 1896, pp. 192-3). By 1627, the Turks were so familiar with sailing the Ocean that they were plundering in Iceland (Nelson Annandale, The Faroes and Iceland, Oxford, 1905, Ch. 3, passim).

depredations into the rougher waters of the Atlantic. Formidable fleets of sailing ships were soon lying in the harbours of Algiers and Tunis, alongside conventional gallies. Andrew Barker, who had been captured by one of Ward's consorts and enslaved at Tunis, reported in 1609 that the city boasted fifteen great ships, each mounting 20-40 guns and manned by 200-300 men, and in subsequent years Turkish forces grew rapidly in strength.[1]

The first ripples from this nautical revolution were felt by English merchants as early as 1606-7, when two English ships were taken by the Turks. On this occasion, the governors of the Levant Company prophetically wrote to Sir Thomas Glover, the English ambassador at Constantinople, that:

> ... wee thincke it expedient ... to take some good order, least they escaping unpunished should be animated daylie to endamage our nation.[2]

In the following years the situation deteriorated rapidly, so that by 1609 trade was almost at a standstill. Early that year the Company had informed Glover of,

> ... the multitude of Turkishe Cursaryes swarming almost everywhere in ye Levant Seas and growing so dangerous and soe undertaking yt no shipp can well escape them, for besids yt theye make theire porte townes alonge the Coast Africke ye receptacles of Pyrates and nurseryes of men of warre of all nations theye themselves doe man out gallies to make Price of all theye Can laye hould on ...[3]

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1 Barker, op.cit.,preface. Captain Foucques, a Frenchman who was a captive at Tunis in 1609, said that there were twelve ships of over 300 tons in the port (Archives des Voyages, ed. Ternaux-Compans, I. 224). On 1 October 1616, Cottington informed Winwood that there were forty tall Turkish vessels of 200-400 tons, with an admiral's ship of 500 tons, divided into two fleets. One squadron of eighteen vessels was off Malaga blockading the coast, while the other was between Seville and Lisbon, awaiting the arrival of the Spanish West Indies flotilla. (B.M. Harl. MS. 1580, f. 351.) Jean-Baptiste Salvago, a Venetian who visited Algiers in 1625, reported that the city had 100 round ships (Grandchamp, op. cit., p.473).

2 S.P. 105/110/1, 27 February 1607.

3 S.P. 105/110/36, 7 February 1609.

By 24 May 1609, forty sail of English ships were reported to have been taken by the pirates of Algiers, Tunis and Bizerta.[1] In September Barker estimated that Turkish piracies during the previous year had cost London alone £200,000.[2] This figure seems high, but losses were evidently crippling trade, for at the same time that Barker's pamphlet was published, Samuel Calvert observed that:

> Our /Turkey/ merchants grow confused and poor in their returns since the pirates thriving at sea.[3]

The London merchants do not seem to have found any immediate solution to the problem. Some Levant merchants added more guns to their ships and sent them double-manned,[4] but the majority continued to run the gauntlet through the Straits ill-prepared for battle. In 1615, the Levant Company informed Paul Pindar, the new ambassador at Constantinople, that they had proofs to show that 100 vessels had been spoiled since James' accession.[5] Early in 1617, when depredations were at their height, the Company petitioned James for some effective action,[6] but when this failed the merchants finally took effective measures to protect themselves. By 1618, they were no longer anxious to contribute towards an expedition against the pirates, for, as they informed the Council:

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1 S.P. 105/110/46. Bizerta was the port where the gallies of Tunis were kept.

2 Barker, op. cit., preface.

3 H.M.C. Downshire, II. 146, Calvert to William Trumbull, 27 September 1609.

4 H.M.C. Salisbury, XX. 312, Petition of Thomas and Mathew Stocker, /1608/.

5 S.P. 105/110/82, 26 August 1615.

6 A.P.C. 1616-17, p.226.

> ... wee have and do of late Since that peticion delivered, so carry that and the rest of our shipping for Turky that wee have caused many tall shippes to be built and do adventure in none, but extraordinary good shippes, the best wee can procure, and also enjoyne them so to keepe Company both out and home, that for our partes wee give the Almighty praise for it, wee stand in little feare of the Pirates, neither have wee in our Trade had any great losses that way, which course did others keepe in like manner both for good shippes and to keepe Company wee know the Pirates would have little gaine by their piracyes, and fall downe of them selves.[1]

Certainly the Turks were not keen to attack strongly-armed English ships, 'en raison de la vieille reputation qu'ils ont d'incendier le vaisseau s'ils sont vaincus.'[2] A good example of the courage of English seamen occurred in January 1617, when the Dolphin of London encountered five Turkish warships and a satia off Sardinia. The Dolphin, returning from Zante, was a strong merchantman of 220 tons, defended by nineteen cast pieces, five murderers and a crew of thirty-six men and two boys. The five Turkish warships - three of them captained by Englishmen - were more than her equal in strength. They were all vessels of 200 tons or more, each one mounting over twenty guns and manned by at least 200 men. The Dolphin was gallantly defended against the repeated attacks of the Turks, who eventually abandoned the fight after she had caught fire. Miraculously, the fire was put out and the Dolphin managed to limp into the Thames, although she had been shot through and through, and eleven of her crew had been killed.[3]

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1 S.P. 105/109/58.

2 Grandchamp, op.cit., p. 484. In 1604 a 'shamefull and dangerous presedent' was set by Robert Rickman, who surrendered his ship, the Mary Anne of London, on terms that he should keep his own merchandise (B.M. Lansd. 142, f. 258, Cranbourne to Caesar, 17 January 1605). His example was apparently not followed by other English masters.

3 Thomas Lediard, The Naval History of England, 1066-1734, II. 440-3. The English captains were Walsingham, Sampson and Kelly.

It was the poorly-defended English ships which bore the brunt of the corsairs' depredations. In 1617, Sir Ferdinando Gorges wrote to the mayor of Plymouth that 300 English and Scottish vessels had been taken by the Turks within a few years - a figure which was endorsed by the Council.[1] This number was still being bruited about by the Lords in February, 1619, but the following month they estimated that 400 sail of the western ports alone had been captured in four years.[2] Whatever value can be placed on these figures, the rising number of piracies are reflected in the depositions given in the admiralty court.[3] Most of the vessels which were captured were of less than 100 tons burden and were crewed by fewer than twenty men. Usually they were west country barks bound for the Mediterranean from Newfoundland or England with cargoes of fish, or else merchantmen trading south with lead, cloth and other northern commodities. These small traders and fishermen were the very men who could least afford to sustain any losses. It was useless for such vessels to travel together, for they were defenceless against squadróns of swift, heavily-manned

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1 H.M.C. Eigth Report, I. 235, H.M.C. Ninth Report, I. 265, 19 April 1617.

2 C.S.P. Dom. 1619-23, pp. 12, 25, Council to Lord Zouch, 7 February, 19 March 1619.

3 Only a few of the captures made by the Turks were recorded, but these give some indication of the increasing danger to small ships after 1616. In that year, the Primrose of Dover, a bark of Weymouth, and the Grace, the Elizabeth, the Mary Anne, the Mary and John, the John, and the Rebecca, all of London, were either captured or spoiled. (H.C.A. 1/48/116, 118, 159, 254: 7 January, 4 February, 11 December 1617, 9 October 1619.) London ships lost in 1619 included the Blessing, the George, eighty tons, the Simon and Andrew, and the Turtle Dove, sixty-tons, besides the Margaret of Kirkcaldy, the William of Broutilon, the Hopewell of Rye, the Dove of Bristol and four ships of Plymouth and Weymouth. (H.C.A. 1/48/260, 272, 287, 295, 301-2: 17, 20 November 1619, 20, 24 January, 14 February, 15, 21 March 1620.) In the Book of Trade of the Merchant Venturers of Bristol there is a list of forty-five ships lost at sea between 1610 and 1620, twenty-nine of which were captured by Turkish pirates (J.W. Damer Powell, Bristol Privateers and Ships of War, Bristol, 1930, p.86 n.).

Turkish cruisers. For example, in September 1616, nineteen Turkish men-of-war plundered six small English ships off Gibraltar as they were sailing in convoy to Malaga.[1]

The losses of the west-country ports were particularly severe. In a note which was probably written sometime before 1620, Mr. Newman, a Dartmouth merchant, complained that:

> These Turkes are groen so expert that they come out of the Streats so fare as the Northere Kepe and take our shipinge.[2]

Newman put the losses of Exeter, Plymouth and Dartmouth at £54,000, and said that in the last eight yeears Devon and Cornwall had suffered damages of £100,000.[3]

Yet it seems possible that the London merchants may have eventually rested some advantage from the increasing depredations of the Turks. Although the Levant Company sustained heavy losses before 1616, after that date the corsairs could make little impression on their ships. Since the activities of Algiers and Tunis were mainly directed against Spain and the Italian states, the pirates may actually have helped strong English merchantmen, by enabling them to trade in the Mediterranean in

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1 H.C.A. 1/48/254: 9 October 1619. This was probably the same loss recorded by Carew under the date October 1616. He wrote that thirty Turkish men-of-war had attacked seven English fishing boats coming from Newfoundland, sinking two of them and capturing the other five. /'Letters of George Lord Carew to Sir Thomas Roe, 1615-1617,' ed. John Maclean, Camden Soc. LXXVI (1860), p.50./

2 B.M. Harl. MS. 296, f. 196, 5 October.

3 Ibid. As early as 1611 there were seventeen captured fishing vessels at Algiers - mainly from the western ports (H.C.A. 1/47/261: 25 January 1612).

greater safety than their commercial rivals.[1]

For as long as English pirates were free to roam the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, they caused considerable disruption to trade and were the scourge of foreign merchants. Nor did their depredations go unnoticed in England. Apart from the immediate effect which they had on English merchants - and this was not always detrimental - it was feared that their piracies might have more serious repercussions.[2] However, after 1620 English pirates were no longer strong enough to pose a significant threat to trade in either the Atlantic or the Mediterranean. Yet if they themselves were no longer feared, they had been instrumental in extending the depredations of the Turkish rovers to the Ocean. The legacy which the English pirates left behind in the ports of North Africa, and which was to affect northern Europe for at least two decades, was perhaps their most lasting achievement.

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1 The expansion and wealth of the Levant Company is reflected in the number of London merchants trading to the Levant who were elected to the Court of Aldermen between 1610 and 1635. (Robert Guy Lang, 'The Greater Merchants of London in the early Seventeenth Century', D. Phil., Oxon., 1963, abstract.)

2 For example, in Newfoundland, where Sir Richard Whitbourne believed their activities would seriously hamper the development of the English plantation (Whitbourne, A Discourse and Discovery of Newfoundland, pp. c.4-5.)

APPENDIX I

THE INDICTMENTS OF THE HIGH COURT OF ADMIRALTY

(a) The Indictments

The indictments of the High Court of Admiralty are one of the most important sources of evidence for the study of piracy in the first half of the seventeenth century. They have already been calendared by the List and Index Society,[1] but are given here in greater detail.

They have been arranged by the dates on which the piracy to which they refer took place, although in some instances an indictment might not have been framed until many years after the crime had been committed.

Instead of stating all the names on an indictment, only the name of the captain or principal offender has been mentioned, where it is known. When the name of the leader of a band of pirates does not appear on the indictment, his name has been given in square brackets.

The value of the pirates' booty, as stated in the indictments, is given to the nearest pound. The figures are often conservative because indictments might only mention goods belonging to one merchant and ignore other goods taken from the same ship. The nationality of owners who suffered loss by piracy has been given only where it differs from the nationality of the ship which was plundered.

High Court of Admiralty references have been given to the examination books of the court when they help to clarify or elaborate the facts as stated in an indictment.

Often, pirates took their pick of a cargo and left the vessel to her owners. Ships which were kept by the pirates are marked.**

Ships taken at anchor are marked. *

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1 List and Index Society, vol. 45 (1969). The relevant indictments are on pp. 20-42.

DATE OF PIRACY	PIRATE CAPTAIN OR RING-LEADER AND SHIP (S)	LOCATION	VESSEL PIRATED	GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF PLUNDER, AND OWNERS	VALUE £	H.C.A. REF.
1603						
7 Jan.	Andrew Florey, George of Southampton.	Cape de Gata	Wagon** of Emden	Rice, fine cloth	1,260	1/5/176; 13/97/87: 26 Nov. 1607.
13 Jan.	William Pierce, Elizabeth of Plymouth.	Between Islands of Cerigo and Candy, North of Crete.	Veniera** of Venice	Indigo, pepper, cloth, hides, spices.	9,730	1/5/22
22 Mar.	Thomas Tompkins, Margaret and John of Southampton.	Cyprus	Black Balbiana of Venice.	Cloth, velvet, silk, silver coin, cochineal	30,000	1/5/20, 40, 140; 1/6/43-5.
4 June	Wherry	Erith, Thames	Wherry	Jewellery	111	1/5/13
10 July	Wren of Saltash(1)	Cape Finisterre	L'Esperance of la Rochelle	Woolen cloth, clothes, butter, candles.	2,000	1/5/45
19 Aug.	John Harper, flyboat.	Between Sicily and Malta.	St. Paul of Toulon	Furnishings, garments and jewels, of Venetians.	367	1/5/26
8 Oct.	Daniel Tucker,(2) Hopewell	Conquet,* Brittany.	Mary of Abrildud (?) Brittany.	Gascony wine	78	1/5/10
3 Nov.	William Helye, Ketch	HoleHaven, Thames	Elizabeth, alias Isabel of Bordeaux	Gascony wine	67	1/5/46
14 Nov.	Edward Fall, Bark	Isle of Wight	Violet of London	Wine, sugar, currants, madder, soap, starch.	647	1/5/4-7, 9; 1/46/102: 23 Mar. 1604.
16 Nov.	William Conniloe, two boats	Plymouth*	French,** unknown		103	1/5/19

1604						
29 Mar.	Wherry(3)	Blackwall*, Thames	Flower de Luce of St. Malo	Cloth, garments, mainly of London Hanse merchants	c.57	1/5/24-5
18 Apr.	Capt. Ford, wherry	Tilbury Hope*, Thames	A hoy	Silver plate	126	1/5/28
25 Aug.	Richard Lux, Hopewell	Rhodes	Hopewell	Cotton, pepper, indigo, salt.	2,555	1/5/136
2 Sep.	Thomas Pin, Grace	Scilly Isles	Frances of Jersey	Cinnamon, sugar, pepper, gold and silver coin.	c.400	1/5/66, 81, 112, 124.
10 Oct.	John Jennings, Pied Lion of Flushing	Oporto	St. Frances of Portugal	Timber	150	1/5/68
15 Dec.	Morgan Brooke, Vineyard	Spanish coast	St. Anthony** of Lisbon	Wine, oil, flour, cotton, cloth.	4,000	1/5/121
20 Dec.	Concord of Plymouth	High seas	French**, unknown	Wheat	200	1/6/12
1605						
20 Jan.	John Muckill, Catherine	Cowes*	Jonas of Emden	Cottons, says, lawns, cambrics.	10,000	1/5/67
1 May	Wherry	Wapping*, Thames	Martin of Guernsey	Bedding	22	1/5/69
14 Dec.	[Capt. Adrian (Dutch)], Vineyard	Isles of Bayonne	Our Lady of the Conception of Portugal	Sugar, Brazil wood, spices.	3,500	1/5/80, 1/46/234: 11 Jan.1606
1606						
20 Mar.	[Arthur Adyn], Phoenix	High seas	Portuguese**, unknown	Sugar	600	1/5/123, 1/46/283: 22 Sept. 1606.
21 Mar.	Daniel Clements, Vineyard	High seas	Portuguese carvel**	Sugar	2,500	1/5/122

14 Apr.	Thomas Turner, Sow	Portland	William** of Leith	Gascony wine of London merchants	712	1/5/109
20 May	John Exton, Dragon of Flushing	High seas	Portuguese**, unknown	Sugar	4,100	1/5/172, 1/46/337: 29 Apr. 1607.
26 June	Arthur Fage, Why Not?	Isles of Bayonne	French, unknown	Spanish coin	500	1/5/110
30 June	[Albret Albretson (Dutch)], Dutch ship.	Madeira	Portuguese carvel**	Wine, sugar	220	1/6/10, 1/47/52: 13 Nov. 1609.
30 June	- (4)	Falmouth*	French**, unknown	French and Spanish coin	25	1/5/113
20 Sept.	[Albret Albretson (Dutch)]	Gibraltar	Two French vessels,** unknown	Corn	400	1/6/9; 1/47/52: 13 Nov. 1609.
26 Sept.	[Bowen Johnson (Dutch)], Barmouthes of Hoorn	Scilly Isles	Minion of Topsham	Cloth, garments	54	1/6/41; 1/47/142: 9 Aug. 1610
1 Oct.	[Hendrick Wilke (Dutch)], Seacock	Safi, Morocco	Hunter** of Le Havre	Cottons, barley	4,550	1/5/143; 1/46/317: 9 Feb. 1607.
18 Oct.	-	Great Ouse*	Black Nan** of Littleport	Butter, money	37	1/5/171
1 Nov.	John Ward, Gift, and Anthony Johnson, pinnace	Corone, Greek Archipelago	John Baptist	Damask	500	1/5/207
10 Nov.	[Roger Isaac], Greyhound	Spanish coast	Spanish carvel**	Fish	800	1/5/162; 13/97/55: 2 Oct. 1607.
19 Dec.	Longboat	Cork	Grace** of Kinsale	Wine	85	1/5/161
20 Dec.	Roger Isaac, Greyhound of Baltimore.	Scilly Isles	Robert of Dundee	Bays, says, broad-cloths of London merchants	1,125	1/5/164 13/97/55: 2 Oct. 1607.

1607

31 Jan.	Thomas Sockwell alias Sawkell flyboat of Flushing	Madeira	Portuguese, unknown	Linen cloth	112	1/5/170
10 Feb.	/Derrick Garretson,(5) alias Stephenson (Dutch)/, Flying Hart of Rotterdam	Cape St. Vincent	St. Anne of St. Gilles.	Gold coin	1,150	1/5/159-60; 1/46/344: 15 May 1607.
16 Feb.	/Sir Ralph Bingley/, Trial of London	Spanish coast	Portuguese**, unknown	Sugar	300	1/5/167; 13/97/16-17:31 May, 1 June 1607.
6 Mar.	Mathew Brooks, pink	High seas	French**, unknown	-	100	1/5/183; 13/97/57: 20 Oct. 1607.
16 Apr.	John Ward, Ruby of Venice	Cyprus	Soderina** of Venice	Cotton yarn, indigo, silk, cinnamon	100,000	1/5/209
20 Apr.	Thomas Sockwell alias Sakell flyboat of Flushing	Spanish coast	Bark of Barnstaple	Wine, sugar	50	1/5/169
28 Apr.	"	"	French, unknown	Spanish silver	200	1/5/168
15 June	John Ward, ship of Venice	Cyprus	Venetian**, unknown	-	4,000	1/5/184
20 June	-	Mediterranean	Dutch**, unknown	Pipe staves	200	1/6/119
Sept.	Wherry	Pool of London*, Thames	Elizabeth of London	Wax	28	1/5/181
13 Sept.	'Reed boat'	Between Leigh and Queenborough, Thames	Golden Griffen of Amsterdam	Taffeta, velvet, linen cloth	270	1/5/198
5 Oct.	William de la Mott (French), Archangel	Cape St. Vincent	Lion** of Hamburg	Fustians, rye	870	1/5/215-6

20 Oct.	William de la Mott (French), Archangel	Spanish coast	French**, unknown	Linen, cochineal, indigo	1,000	1/5/217
20 Oct.	Ship's boat	Wapping, Thames	Providence	Ship's cables	7	1/5/180
21 Oct.	John Pandexter, alias Billet, boat of Portsmouth(6)	Portsmouth*	St. Hubert, alias Golden Calf** of Dunkirk	Various cloth of Antwerp merchants	2,830	1/5/175
22 Oct.	Richard Robinson, flyboat	Isles of Bayonne	St. Anne** of Roscoff	Wine, raisins, Spanish coin	3,060	1/5/201; 13/97/122: 1 Mar. 1608.
22 Oct.	"	"	Janet of Roscoff	Wine, raisins, Spanish coin	7,450	1/5/202; 13/97/122: 1 Mar. 1608.
23 Oct.	George Brown, alias John Harris, wherry	Tilbury Hope, Thames	'Crayer'**	Dairy produce	47	1/5/177; 13/97/66: 30 Oct. 1607.
23 Oct.	George Brown, alias John Harris, 'crayer'	Margate	Flemish pink	English coin	28	1/5/178
20 Dec.	Wherry(7)	Between Greenwich and Deptford, Thames	Hoy of Milton	English and Spanish coin	50	1/5/200
28 Dec.	William de la Mott (French), Archangel	Tenerife	Portuguese**, unknown	Wine	140	1/5/218
30 Dec.	Thomas Trowtes, John of Milton	North Foreland	Dutch hoy	Beer	24	1/5/199; 13/97/107: 9 Jan. 1608.
31 Dec.	William de la Mott (French), Archangel	Canary Islands	Spanish frigate**	Wine	400	1/5/219

1608

2 Feb.	/Richard Robinson/ Bull, Bear and Horse	Aveiro, Portugal	Francis** of Olonne	Wheat	400	1/6/30; 13/97/158: 10 May 1608.
28 Feb.	John Jennings	Isles of Bayonne	French, unknown	Gold coin	17	1/5/203
20 Apr.	/Tibalt Saxbridge/	Spanish coast	Dutch**, unknown	Salt	500	1/6/32; 1/47/132: 9 June 1608.
28 Apr.	John Downes, bark of Penryn	Between St. Ives and Padstowe	Royal of Leith	Spanish coin, sugar, tobacco, pepper	638	1/6/11; 13/97/238: 3 Nov. 1608.
3 May	-	High seas	Dutch**, unknown	Salt	200	1/6/35
6 May	Thomas Sockwell, pink	Isles of Bayonne	St. Jacob** of Hamburg	Spanish coin, indigo	500	1/5/220
12 July	Ulysses of London	Safi*	Susan	Sugar, pepper	2,700	1/6/6
20 July	Richard Bishop	High seas	Pink** of Dunkirk	Ironware	50	1/6/24
28 July	Thomas /Bevins?/, pink(8)	Isles of St. Michael, Canary Islands	Flying Hart** of Amsterdam	Sugar	1,200	1/101/45
4 Aug.	Dutch boat	Reculvers*, Thames	Black Horse of Flushing	Cheese, rye, starch, salt	145	1/6/14
20 Aug.	Richard Bishop, John Jennings and Gilbert Roope in three ships	Scilly Isles	St. John Evangelist of Hamburg	Rice	1,000	1/6/3
24 Aug.	Thomas Freeman on his own	Ratcliffe*, Thames	Mary Jane	Cockboat of the Mary Jane	2	1/5/221
31 Aug.	Thomas Sockwell alias Sawkell, St. Jacob of Hamburg	Madeira	Portuguese carvel**	Calico, silk, green giner, wax	1,000	1/6/13
22 Sept.	/Tibalt Saxbridge/, flyboat	Ushant	Brave** of Dieppe	Gum, ivory, indian hides	2,400	1/6/15, 29; 1/47/115: 3 May 1610.

26 Oct.	John Jennings, Richard Bishop	High seas	French**, unknown	Brass kettles and other merchandise	1,000	1/6/4
4 Dec.	John Jennings, Refusal	Burlings	Bishop** of Bremen	Sugar, cloth, pearls, indigo	2,605	1/6/5
1609						
20 Mar.	-	High seas	French**, unknown	Wine	200	1/6/25
20 Mar.	-	"	Bark** of Southwold	Oil, fruit	200	1/6/75
10 May	Peter Easton	"	Dutch**, unknown	Clapboards	100	1/6/26
10 May	James Harris, Fly, /Richard Bishop/ (13)	Ushant	Mary** of St. Malo	Wine, Spanish gold coin	570	1/6/8, 33; 1/47/67: 12 Dec. 1609.
17 May	"	Cape Finisterre	Margaret of Morbihan	Spanish coin, gold	2,400	1/6/7, 34
25 July	Sampson Tibball, alias Captain Sampson, Gift	Mogador	Hope of London	Various cloth, cloves	1,963	1/6/16
8 Oct.	Philip Harvy, Mayflower of Plymouth	Conquet, Brittany	Son** of Flushing	Gascony wine	670	1/6/31
20 Nov.	Carvel	North Foreland	French, unknown	Spanish wine, coin	110	1/6/103
1610						
15 May	Thomas Coward, Dutch flyboat	Mizzen Head	Grace Bonaventure of Bristol	Skiff, muskets	1	1/6/38
20 May	/John Harris/, fishing boat	Leigh, Thames	Eagle** of Sandwich	-	50	1/6/39; 1/47/139: 6 Aug. 1610.
26 May	Thomas Coward, Dutch flyboat	Lizard	Welcome of London	Victuals, clothes, arms.	9	1/6/37; 1/47/130: 8 June 1610.

28 May	/John Harris/, Eagle of Sandwich	Between Yarmouth and Zealand	Black Dog** of Ter Veere, Zealand	French wine, oil sugar.	83	1/6/40; 1/47/139: 6 Aug. 1610.
30 May	Thomas Coward, Dutch flyboat	Lands End	Swan** of Dunkirk	Sugar, silver plate of Antwerp merchants	1,377	1/6/36; 1/47/133: 13 June 1610.
1 Aug.	Christopher Webb, Patience of Bristol, alias The Blue Man of War	High seas	Seniora Munseratta** of Portugal	Sugar	180	1/6/91-2
4 Aug.	"	"	Portuguese**, unknown	Sugar, brazil wood	1,000	1/6/72
14 Sept.	Mathew Hutchinson, Patience alias The Blue Man of War	"	Portuguese carvel**	Sugar, brazil wood	1,120	1/6/90
20 Dec.	Ambrose Sayer, Spanish ship	Sardinia	Barcelona**, unknown	Wheat	200	1/6/98
1611						
10 Apr.	Wherry	North Foreland	Gift of God** of London	Money	70	1/6/101
30 Nov.	Ambrose Sayer, Spanish ship	Mediterranean	Two French vessels**, unknown	Fish	500	1/6/99
1612						
14 May	/William Baugh/, Cat	Cape Clear	Bull of Dieppe	Jewels	20,000	1/6/113; 13/98/20-1: 25 Jan. 1613.
29 May	John Johnson, pink	High seas	Dutch flyboat**	Sea-coal, tobacco	200	1/6/80
29 May	John Johnson, Dutch flyboat	Norway	Black Buck of Enkhuizen	Ship, gold and silver coin	1,112	1/6/81; 1/47/308: 12 Aug. 1612.
20 Aug.	Ship of Rochester(9)	Whitby	Scottish**, unknown	-	100	1/6/82
20 Aug.	"	Flamborough Head	Dutch hoy**, unknown	Sea-coal of Newcastle merchants	30	1/6/83

5 Sept.	Wherry	Purfleet*, Thames	Hound of Ipswich	Cheeses	3	1/6/84
20 Sept.	Ambrose Sayer, Spanish ship	High seas	French**, unknown	Wheat	300	1/6/100
15 Dec.	Thomas Fleetham on his own	Erith*, Thames	Wherry	Dried fruit, linen	18	1/6/102; 13/98/78-9: 5 July 1613.
1613						
10 May	John Lambert, Come Again	Milford Haven	Bennet of Bristol	Gold and silver	100	1/6/118; 13/98/53: 8 June 1613.
13 May	Jonas Prophet, ketch	North Foreland*	Nightingale of Middleburg	Gold and silver of London merchants	500	1/6/97
23 Aug.	Wherry	Gravesend*, Thames	Green Hat of Dordrecht	Matresses, money	4	1/6/114; 13/98/83-4: 25 Aug. 1613.
25 Aug.	/Richard Catro, alias Dick of Dover/, Desire of Barking	Orford Ness	Golden Cock of Haarlem	Clothes	2	1/6/115; 13/98/85-6: 27 Aug. 1613.
25 Aug.	"	Reculver, Thames	Cock of St. Omer	Lawns, cambric	182	1/6/116; 13/98/85-6: 27 Aug. 1613.
17 Sept.	Gabriel Bonnage, ship of Caen	Isle of Thanet	Croysant of Touques, Normandy	Normandy canvas of London merchants	300	1/6/117
4 Dec.	Wherry	Limehouse*, Thames	Thomas of Ipswich	Linen cloth	26	1/6/149
23 Dec.	Edward Jolliffe, Angel of Holland	Spanish coast	Exchange of York(10)	Rye	500	1/6/146

1614

20 May	[Le Shenier (French)], (11) Mary Magdalene and Hope of Dieppe	West of the Azores	Portuguese**, unknown	Sugar, hides	6,000	1/6/140
24 May	"	"	Portuguese, unknown	Wine, ordnance	38	1/6/141
9 June	Wherry	Between Erith and Gravesend, Thames	'Clinker'**	-	20	1/6/151
17 June	'Clinker'	Between Aldeburgh and Southwold	French**, unknown	Sea-coal	200	1/6/152
22 June	William Clark, Tiger and Amy	Vestmannaeyjar Isles*, Iceland	Fortune** of Copenhagen	Salt, beer	225	1/6/144
23 June	"	"	Neptune of Copenhagen	Oil, fish	52	1/6/145
20 July	Guilliam de Gilianse St. Andrew (French), Hope of Dieppe	Canary Islands	Portuguese, unknown	Silk, velvet, cotton cloth, money.	500	1/6/142
1 Aug.	John Johnson, (14) Skiff	Cape Verde Islands	Hope, alias' Speranza** of Dieppe	Linen cloth, silk	500	1/6/143; 13/98/235: 8 Oct. 1614.
22 Sept.	Edward Jolliffe, Fishing boat	Between Oporto and Viana, Portugal	Unicorn** of Rotterdam	Sugar, brazil wood	120	1/6/148
22 Sept.	Edward Jolliffe, Unicorn of Rotterdam	Portuguese coast	Portuguese carvel**	Indian hides, sugar	530	1/6/147
20 Oct.	Thomas Tucker, Fortune	in 46° latitude	Spanish**, unknown	Hides, wood, tobacco, money	1,000	1/6/174
20 Oct.	Wherry	Tilbury Hope, Thames	Mackeral of Dunkirk	Fustians of London merchants	70	1/6/139

1615						
3 Jan.	Thomas Ford, bark	Leigh*, Thames	Elephant of Flushing	Gold, silverware, silk, of London merchants	650	1/6/150; 1/48/28: 18 Jan. 1615.
20 Apr.	James Motham, Peregrine, Grissel, Hopewell	Cape Verde Islands	Portuguese**, unknown	Rice, wax	400	1/6/172
28 June	Robert Walsingham, Pilgrim and consorts	Spanish coast	Susan Constance of London	Hides, lead, cloth, pepper	3,512	1/6/191
20 (?) July	Flying Joan of London and pinnace	Brazil	Portuguese**, unknown	Salt, oil, cheese	200	1/6/173
7 Sept.	William Heath, boat of Barking	Between Sheerwater and the Isle of Grain* Thames	Ketch of Rainham	Money, clothes	7	1/6/171
24 Oct.	/Lawrence Mountain/, French ship.	Cromer	Centurion** of Harwich	Sea-coal	700	1/6/169; 1/48/70-1: 6 Mar. 1616.
24 Oct.	/Lawrence Mountain/, Centurion of Harwich	Sunderland	Scottish**, unknown	Wine	400	1/6/170; 1/48/70-1: 6 Mar. 1616.
20 Dec.	Wherry	Barking Creek*, Thames	John** of Chenton, Suffolk	Fish	10	1/6/168
21 Dec.	John of Chenton	Queenborough*, Thames	Sea Rider of St. Omer	Kersies, pewter, money	120	1/6/165
1616						
24 Feb.	David Beton, African of London	North Foreland	Prodigal Son of Amsterdam	Cloth, canvas, mainly of London merchants	375	1/6/176
14 May	/Richard Miller/,(12) ketch	Queenborough, Thames	Ketch of Barking**	-	10	1/6/166
15 May	/Francis Davis/, ketch	"	John** of Dover	Woad, wool, malt	516	1/6/167

1618						
12 Feb.	John Ellis, French ship	High seas	Hope** of Schiedam	Sugar	-	1/7/7
1 Aug.	John Ellis, Hope of Schiedam	Cape Clear	French**, unknown	Fish	200	1/7/8
1619						
[?]	[James Haggerston]	North Foreland	Dutch hoy**	Aqua-vitae	50	1/7/9; 1/48/221-2: 8 Mar. 1619.
Feb.	[James Haggerston], Dutch hoy	Between shoe Beacon and The Whittacre, Thames	Judith** of Rochester	-	20	1/7/10; 1/48/221-2: 8 Mar. 1619.
3 Mar.	Richard Catro, alias Dick of Dover	Tilbury Hope, Thames	Gift of God of Calais	Various cloths of London merchants	146	1/7/11
15 Dec.	Two wherries	Erith, Thames	Bonadventure of Dieppe	Musk belonging to a Dutch merchant stranger of London	300	1/7/20
1620						
18 Jan.	Two fishing boats	Hole Haven, Thames	St. John of Caen	Silver fustians of London merchants	100	1/7/21
[1621?]						
-	Hoy	Tilbury Hope*, Thames	Susan of Ipswich	Money, clothes	14	1/7/28
1622						
15 June	Agnes	Orford Ness*	Thomas and George of Sandwich	Money, arms, clothes	7	1/7/42
16 June	"	Burlington Bay	'Keile' boat of York	Money	9	1/7/43
15 July	William Cary, Providence	Isle of Wight	'Tartana'**	Tobacco	3,000	1/7/44

1623						
29 Sept.	Garret Garretson, alias Shoemaker (Dutch), St. Paul of Amsterdam	High seas	Trinity of Milbrook, Cornwall	Clothes, gold	6	1/7/40
17 Oct.	"	Viana, Portugal	St. Louis** of Quilleboeuf, France	Silk, velvet, paper, buckram	500	1/7/41
1624						
1 Jan.	Cock-boat	Blackwall*, Thames	James of London	Silk	100	1/7/33
10 Jan.	William Rompps, Turkish ship	Burlings	Portuguese**, unknown	Sugar	100	1/7/48
3 Feb.	"	Straits of Gibraltar	'Palachra' of Leghorn**	Flax	50	1/7/47
2 Dec.	William Rompps, Sally and Algerine warships	Lizard	Isabel** of Scotland	Wine	200	1/7/49; 1/49/46: 31 Jan. 1625.
1629						
7 Sept.	Wherry	Gravesend, Thames	Hope of Hamburg	Cloth, stockings, of London merchant	49	1/7/68
10 Sept.	William of Southampton	Isles of Bayonne	French**, unknown	Wine	200	1/7/64
21 Oct.	-	Redruth, Thames	John and Humphrey of London	Sails	23	1/7/67
18 Dec.	Two wherries	Tilbury Hope, Thames	Angel** of Halstow, Kent	-	5	1/7/66
1631						
Apr.	St. Mary Francis of San Sebastian	High seas	English**, unknown	Butter	100	1/7/75
[May?]	"	"	Two French ships	Cloth, wine	40	1/7/76
May	"	"	French, unknown	Victuals	10	1/7/77

1632						
11 Mar.	Cock-boat	Shadwell Dock, Thames	John of Gillingham, Kent	Cloth, money, clothes	6	1/7/74
31 Oct.	John Bradley on his own	West Cowes	Gift of Busselton, Southampton	Ship's tackle	1	1/7/99
1633						
2 Jan.	Cock-boat of the Hope of London	Cowes*	Dolphin of Calais	French coins	40	1/7/83
4 Jan.	Hope of London	Yarmouth, Isle of Wight	Pink of Flushing**	-	40	1/7/84
22 Feb.	Two boats	Erith*, Thames	Hoy of Maidstone	Butter, cheese	12	1/7/88
11 Mar.	Two skull-boats	Long Reach, Thames	Blessing of Sandwich	Silver Plate	17	1/7/89
28 Mar.	Hoy	Half way tree, Thames	Magdalene of Dieppe	Gold plate, fine clothes, of London merchants	189	1/7/86-7
19 Apr.	Richard Burley on his own	Limehouse, Thames	Costlett of London	Two iron 'chambers'	1shil-ling	1/7/85
6 Dec.	[John Powicke], sloop of Dunkirk	Kent Coast	Dutch**, unknown	-	40	1/7/103
1634						
26 Jan.	Wherry	Erith*, Thames	Elizabeth of Queen-borough	Money, millinery	1	1/7/100
26 Jan.	"	"	Fortune of Queen-borough	Money, fine clothes, pewter	26+	1/7/101-2
25 Feb.	Samuel Symmes of his own	Thames*	French boat**	Fish, rope	1	1/7/104

1635						
17 May	William Fevart (French), Isabel of France	Barbary coast	Pearl of London	The Pearl was not taken, but her master and five of the crew were killed in the attack	-	1/7/137
10 Aug.	John Journeau (French), Little Martha of Dieppe	Portland Bay	Fortune of Dublin	Clothes, draperies of London merchants	295	1/7/139-41
1636						
29 July	"	English Channel	Grace of Weymouth	Money, victuals, tackle, arms	50+	1/7/131
1637						
2 Jan.	-	Limehouse, Thames	James of Dover	Jewellery	120+	1/7/45
31 Oct.	-	Thames	Marigold of London	Cloth	60	1/7/149
[1637?]	-	"	-	Fish	-	1/7/172
1638						
[30?] Jan.	Wherry	"	Wherry	Cloves, silk, sugar powder	60+	1/7/147
11 Feb.	-	"	Endeavour	A cable	16	1/7/150
1640						
24 Apr.	Wherry	"	-	-	2	1/7/158
22 Nov.	-	Thames*	Elizabeth of London	Wool	1	1/7/155

NOTES TO APPENDIX I

(1) Arthur Chambers and Thomas Price, both Devonians, who were probably the leaders of this band, were tried and convicted at Exeter (B.M. Lansd. 142, f. 226, 21 January 1604).

(2) Tucker was owner of the Hopewell and claimed his ship had been surprised at Plymouth by a pirate crew led by Captain Reeves (H.C.A. 1/46/96: 6 March 1604).

(3) Robert Harrod and Robert Jones alias Goner were both executed for this piracy (H.C.A. 1/5/24).

(4) This piracy was committed by several Dutch seamen who stole the vessel in order to return to Holland (H.C.A. 1/46/261-2: 14 July 1606).

(5) The Dutch and Norwegian seamen indicted for this piracy were also indicted for taking the ship's boat of the St. Anne, to row ashore near Salcombe (H.C.A. 1/5/160).

(6) Pandexter took the St. Hubert at the head of seven men, but he left the prize after an argument and Thomas Lakes assumed command (H.C.A. 13/97/71, 163-4: 9 November 1607, 4 June 1608).

(7) Garrett Scottle sentenced to death.

(8) This indictment is separate from the rest and Bevin's name is illegible. Sockwell kept the St. Jacob, which he had captured on 6 May, and made Bevins captain of his pink, with instructions to serve him as a pinnace. The Flying Hart was carrying 142 chests of sugar. (H.C.A. 13/97/203-4, 216, 221-2: 19 September, 5, 10 October 1608).

(9) An indenture was made out to hand over Thomas Gates for execution for this and the following piracy (H.C.A. 1/6/127).

(10) The Exchange was sunk in the battle with the pirates.

(11) Le Shenier was sent to sea by the governor of Dieppe in April 1614 in command of two ships, with a commission from the admiral of France to attack Spanish shipping beyond the line. After making this capture, he returned to Dieppe, along with Gideon Sohier, captain of the Hope, who was put in charge of the Portuguese prize. Guilliam de Gilianse was made captain of the Hope, and took a prize on 20 July, but his ship was then captured by some English seamen from the Phoenix, who stole aboard late on night. Neither le Shenier or Sohier were indicted for this piracy, since they were safe in France. (H.C.A. 13/98/240-3: 21 October 1614.)

(12) When Miller was killed by English fishermen at the North Foreland, Francis Davis became leader (H.C.A. 1/48/97-8: 30 May 1616).

(13) Harris and Bishop were consorts at the capture of the Mary and the Margaret (H.C.A. 1/47/61-2: 8 December 1609).

(14) Although the Hope was captured by Johnson and other crew members of the Centaur of London, a successful action was brought in the High Court of Admiralty against Thomas Newport, master of the Centaur, for assisting Johnson. (A.P.C. 1615-16, p.682).

(b) An analysis of the Occupations, Origins and Numbers of English Pirates, based on the indictments of the High Court of Admiralty.

Between 1603 and 1640, indictments were framed in the High Court of Admiralty against 1031 men, but since some offenders were indicted more than once, the total number of individuals involved was in fact only 728. Thus, on average, less than twenty men were indicted each year between 1603 and 1640, which probably did not even amount to one third of the complement of a well-manned pirate ship. No doubt the small number indicted was due to the ease with which offenders could escape detection. Almost all the indictments state that the crimes were committed with other men whose names were unknown.

It is difficult to say what proportion of the total number of pirates who were active between 1603 and 1640 were actually indicted. Certainly, the numbers of individuals indicted each year bears no constant relation to the level of piratical activity. In 1611, when Atlantic piracy was at its height, only one man was indicted. On the other hand, an abnormally large number of men were indicted in 1603, when particularly comprehensive indictments which were framed against the crews of Pierce and Tompkins.

It is only possible to guess at the total numbers involved in piracy throughout the period. In 1608, King James estimated that there were perhaps as many as 500 pirate vessels in the Ocean.[1] In 1609, Bishop was reported in Ireland at the head of a thousand men. Four years later, Easton entered Villefranche with a hard core of 900 English followers, and in the years that followed, Mainwaring commanded a force of six or seven hundred.[2] In addition to the pirates in the Ocean,

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1 C.S.P. Ven. 1607-10, p.192, Correr and Giustinian to Doge and Senate, 20 November.

2 Supra, pp. 88,136,224.

English pirates were also active in the Mediterranean during the first half of James' reign, although their numbers probably never exceeded a few hundred. It seems reasonable to conclude that for several years at least there were more than a thousand Englishmen scouring the seas for prey, which means that in certain years there were more pirates at large than were indicted in the High Court of Admiralty in thirty-seven years.

If the indictments represent such a small sample of English pirates, the question arises as to whether or not they can be taken as being a representative cross-section.

The number of men indicted who came from London is indeed large, but it does not seem out of proportion when the size of the city and its pre-eminent position in the maritime life of the country are taken into consideration. Nor is the cross section likely to be unbalanced because of the situation of the High Court of Admiralty, since it is known that pirates were sent to London for trial from all over the country.

The indictments are particularly valuable because, when a man was indicted, his home-town and occupation were stated. This information, is, however, open to certain criticism. Although the indictment was an extremely important legal document, the registrar of the court does not appear to have been very painstaking in the way in which individuals charged with piracy were described. Since the seafaring population was highly mobile, it may have been difficult to establish a man's birth-place or home, and no attempt seems to have been made to overcome this difficulty. John Ward is described in separate indictments as a gentleman of Plymouth and London,[1] whereas he was probably from Faversham. Richard Bishop, a Yarmouth man, is described as a gentleman of London and Dartmouth,[2] while Thomas Tompkins was indicted on separate occasions

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1 H.C.A. 1/5/184; 207.

2 H.C.A. 1/5/184; 1/6/4.

as a gentleman of Southampton and Hereford.[1] In all likelihood, the registrar was only too glad to simplify matters as much as possible. Where doubt existed about a pirate's place of origin, it seems to have been given as the place from which he had set sail. Sometimes, such descriptions were a nonsense. Three Dutchmen, indicted for piracy in 1606, were said to come from Penryn,[2] and in the following year five more Dutchmen and three Norwegians were indicted as sailors of Salcombe - the place in England where they had come ashore.[3]

Similarly, no scrupulous accuracy can be ascribed to the statements in the indictments relating to occupations of pirates. For example, Christopher Webb is described in separate indictments as a sailor and a merchant.[4] Furthermore, terminology may have been used loosely. Generally, a mariner is thought of as a better class of seaman than a sailor, and yet the two words may have been interchangeable. In an indictment of 1603, thirty-nine members of the crew of a pirate ship are described as mariners, while in another indictment of the same year, a similar number of men from another pirate ship are all described as sailors.[5] Equally, it is difficult to say just what constituted a gentleman. The term seems to have been used carelessly and sometimes describes a man who is elsewhere referred to as a mariner.

In the following tables, each pirate has been counted once only - so far as identification has been possible - and the place of origin and occupation of pirates who were indicted more than once has been taken as being that set down in the earliest indictment. Accessories, who were indicted along with the principals to their crimes, have not been counted neither have aliens, whether or not they were given English places of origin.

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1 H.C.A. 1/5/40; 1/6/43.

2 H.C.A. 1/5/113; 1/46/260: 14 July 1606.

3 H.C.A. 1/5/159; 1/46/344-9: 12 May 1607.

4 H.C.A. 1/6/72, 91.

5 H.C.A. 1/5/22, 40, 140.

Table I. The Counties of Origin of British Subjects Indicted for Piracy in the High Court of Admiralty, 1603-40.

COUNTY	1603	1604	1605	1606	1607	1608	1609	1610	1611	1612	1613	1614	1615	1616	1617	1618	1619	1620	1621-30	1631-40	TOTAL
Devon	76	8	6	25	24	27	7	2	-	4	4	1	5	1	-	1	1	-	2	2	196
London	9	7	3	14	20	10	3	2	-	3	13	10	9	2	-	-	6	1	3	4	119
Middlesex	1	7	4	3	17	2	2	-	1	3	9	24	6	5	-	-	7	-	6	12	109
Southampton	46	1	-	1	8	1	1	1	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	62
Cornwall	3	1	-	7	1	16	1	1	-	3	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	37
Kent	-	-	-	4	5	1	2	-	-	6	1	-	4	-	-	-	2	-	3	3	31
Bristol	-	7	-	-	2	-	2	2	-	-	7	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	22
Essex	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	-	-	-	3	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	18
Surrey	1	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	2	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	18
Suffolk	-	1	-	-	3	2	2	-	-	-	1	3	1	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	16
Dorset	1	6	-	2	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	15
Norfolk	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	1	-	-	4	-	-	3	15
Yorkshire	-	1	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	2	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	11
Somerset	-	2	-	2	-	1	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	9
Sussex	1	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Gloucester	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	5
Pembroke	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Hampshire	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	3
Wiltshire	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	3
Glamorgan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Northampton	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
Others*	3	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	2	11
Unknown	1	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	9
Total no. of individuals	143	48	15	66	88	66	28	11	1	27	47	45	33	16	0	1	22	5	27	39	728

* Others: one each, from Berks., Herts., Hereford, Lancs., Leics., Montgomery, Notts., Oxford, Shropshire, Ayr and Wexford.

Table II: The Occupations of British Subjects Indicted for Piracy in the High Court of Admiralty, 1603-40.

OCCUPATION	1603	1604	1605	1606	1607	1608	1609	1610	1611	1612	1613	1614	1615	1616	1617	1618	1619	1620	1621-30	1631-40	TOTAL
Sailor	42	28	4	20	16	21	2	-	-	18	21	30	17	8	-	-	13	5	19	18	282
Mariner	81	7	7	28	47	24	13	4	1	6	12	10	9	1	—	-	-	-	-	-	250
Gentleman	10	1	3	4	8	4	2	3	-	-	3	2	-	-	-	1	4	-	1	3	49
Merchant	1	4	-	5	2	1	-	2	-	-	3	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23
Waterman	1	1	1	-	4	2	-	-	-	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	5	19
Surgeon	5	2	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
Yeoman	-	-	-	1	-	2	2	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	10
Gunner	2	1	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
Husbandman	-	-	-	2	-	2	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Tailor	-	-	-	1	-	2	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Ship's Carpenter	1	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Fisherman	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4
Navigator	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4
Trumpeter	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Labourer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	3
Shoemaker	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3
Soldier	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2
Others*	-	-	-	1	3	2	2	2	-	1	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	2	2	20
Unknown	-	1	-	1	4	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	4	1	15
Total no. of individuals	143	48	15	66	88	66	28	11	1	27	47	45	33	16	0	1	22	5	27	39	728

* Others: one each, chandler, girdler, pavier, oilman, goldsmith, miller, silk-weaver, haberdasher, shoemaker, baker, cook, cooper, cutler, fishmonger, innkeeper, joiner, grocer, woodmonger, poulterer and gunmaker.

From table I, it appears that the two most important breeding-grounds of pirates were London, together with its nearby riverside settlements, especially those of Middlesex, and the traditional sea-faring counties of the south-west. The predominance of these places was especially pronounced during the first half of James' reign. Between 1603 and 1616, more than 35% of all men indicted came from Devon and Cornwall, while London and the adjoining counties of Middlesex and Surrey produced more than 30% of the total.

In Devon, Plymouth emerges as the most important single city - more important indeed than London itself. A total of 136 offenders were indicted as Plymouth men. This figure has been slightly distorted by the indictment of Pierce's men in 1603, twenty-nine of them coming from Plymouth. Nevertheless, Plymouth overshadows all other ports in the south-west. Dartmouth was second in importance, with twenty-six pirates. Eleven came from Fowey, while Penryn and Salcombe produced six each. The rest were drawn from towns and villages scattered throughout the peninsular.

Of the London settlements, Ratcliffe was of primary importance, producing sixty-five pirates. The other settlements worth mentioning, but which did not rival Ratcliffe, were: St. Catherines by the Tower, 16, pirates, Southwark, 12, Wapping, 7, Limehouse, 6, Eastsmithfield, 5 and Shadwell, 3.

Markedly fewer pirates appear to have been indicted after 1616. While this may reflect the chance survival of evidence or a drop in the number of offenders who were actually brought to trial, if it is considered with the decrease in evidence from other sources after about the middle of James' reign, it would seem to point to a decline in the fortunes of English deep-sea pirates. Between 1617 and 1640, only six men were indicted from Devon and two from Cornwall, whereas between 1603 and 1616 the two counties had bred 190 and thirty-seven pirates respectively. London, however, continued in importance, mainly because piracy on the Thames was unabated, and also

because of the opportunities which existed for pirates on the east coast. More than 46% of pirates indicted between 1617 and 1640 came from the city of London or from the neighbouring riverside settlements in Middlesex and Surrey.

The indictments are not reliable enough to make it possible to examine the relative importance of various towns and cities in fostering pirates. It is hard to believe, for example, that while 136 pirates came from Plymouth, only two came from Exeter. Sixty-two pirates appear to have come from Southampton, and yet Bristol, the second largest city in the kingdom, accounted for only twenty-two. The high figure for Southampton has been distorted by the indictment of Thomas Tompkins and thirty-seven of his men, for piracy against the Black Balbiana of Venice in 1603. If this single piracy were to be discounted, then only twenty-four pirates would have come from Southampton during the period. Although this number is a more realistic assessment of Southampton's role, it can be seen how precarious it would be to use such figures to attempt an assessment of individual towns and cities.

Some places,which might reasonably be expected to have nurtured many pirates,are but sparsely represented. Portsmouth and Weymouth can count only seven pirates each, Dover five, Hull and Yarmouth four, Ipswich three, and King's Lynn two, while not a single Newcastle sailor appears to have been caught breaking the law. It is possible that the east coast is under-represented in the overall figures. Only ninety-one offenders, or an eighth of the total number indicted, came from the counties of Kent, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk and Yorkshire.

From table II, a definite pattern can be discerned in the occupations of pirates. Although many landlubbers took to piracy, seamen, as might be expected, formed the backbone of most pirate crews. Seventy-three per cent of men indicted were described as either sailors or mariners.

The indictments give some indication that a better class of man was attracted to piracy before 1616. Of 250 mariners who were indicted, every single one was first involved in piracy before 1616 and none was indicted for the first time after then whereas sailors, who are generally taken to have been the least qualified seamen, were almost as numerous as mariners before 1616 and continued to be indicted for piracy after that date, comprising 58% of all pirates who were indicted between 1617 and 1640. It must, however, be borne in mind that this surprising chronological change in the type of seaman indicted may be because the term 'mariner' was more loosely applied before 1616, or because the description of a seaman as a 'sailor gained universal acceptance among officials who drew up indictments after 1616. There is, however, other evidence that it was a better class of man who took to piracy before 1616. Out of a total of forty-nine gentlemen who were indicted, forty were involved in piracy between 1603 and 1616. Similarly, all the merchants (23) and all the professional crew members such as surgeons (11), gunners (9) and carpenters (5) were indicted during this period.

Thus there are strong indications that a social division existed between men who became pirates before and after 1616, although the total number of pirates who were indicted is an unsatisfactory sample from which to draw any definite conclusions. Such a tendency, if true, may be explained by the fact that during the first part of James' reign privateering was still fresh in the memories of many gentlemen, merchants and professional seamen and they were therefore more likely to try their hands at piracy. More than a decade of peace served to dampen the enthusiasm of the better qualified seamen and the ostensibly more respectable members of the community. Also, after about 1616 it is clear that English pirates were finding life on the high seas more difficult. Thus it may be, as the evidence of the indictments suggests, that after about 1616 piracy became the preserve of the meaner sort.

APPENDIX II

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON ENGLISH PIRATES 1603-40

The following sketches are drawn mainly from the criminal records and the civil examinations of the High Court of Admiralty.

No comprehensive attempt has been made to extend these brief lives by reference to local records, although such sources of information have been used when they have come to light. No doubt more could be discovered about the lives of many pirates by reference to local records and by further searches in the admiralty archives, but it seems doubtful whether such investigations would contribute significantly to our knowledge of their piratical activities.

The chance survival of evidence has, of course, predetermined which pirates are mentioned in the admiralty records. It is possible that some pirates escaped detection by murdering or intimidating the witnesses to their crimes. Several important captains were never indicted (e.g. Mainwaring and Saxbridge), while others can only be glimpsed briefly in other sources and never appear in the records of the High Court of Admiralty (e.g. Furbush, Hills, Owen). With some offenders, the impression is that their depredations were far more extensive than the records suggest (e.g. Knightly, Thickpenny).

In compiling this appendix, it has been necessary to decide which pirates to include. To have mentioned every pirate by name, most of whom are referred to but once, would have been to make the list unwieldy. It would also have drawn attention away from the more important offenders.

Generally, a man has been included if he was the captain of a pirate vessel - that is to say if he held an independent command, or if he was leader of a band of pirates. Of course, the lieutenant of a large pirate vessel operating in the Ocean was of more importance than the so-called 'captain' of a small band of pirates who never ventured further than his own coast. Deep-sea pirates who held important posts

below the rank of captain have been included where it is evident that they enjoyed a career of some duration. Likewise, men who are known to have been involved in piracy over a long period of time have also been included, even though they may never have enjoyed a prominent position aboard a pirate ship (e.g. Samuel Cade, Walter Rockwell).

In all, 728 individuals were indicted in the High Court of Admiralty between 1603 and 1640. To this number can be added a further 500 offenders who were not indicted, but whose names appear in other sources. Thus, the total number of pirates who are known by name is no more than 1,250. Of these, 175 have been included in this appendix, of whom no more than eighty were indicted.

The space given to an individual should not be taken as an indication of his importance, although an effort has been made to confine the lengthier biographies to the more important pirates. The careers of pirates which have been described in the main body of this thesis have not been reproduced in this appendix, but cross references are given. Sometimes, however, when references to a pirate in the text are too scattered, or else incomplete, it has been more convenient to assemble the details and to set them down together.

Positive identification of individuals is difficult, especially when there is a hiatus of several years between one crime and another. For example, there can be no certainty that the Edward Hawcamb or Holcomb, who was involved in piracy in 1603, is the same man as the one who appears as a pirate six years later, and identification is more difficult when the name is a common one. Wherever a problem of identity exists, attention has been drawn to the fact.

The spelling of names has also caused some difficulty. Usually, the modern spelling has been adopted, unless the name is an unusual one, in which case the most common contemporary spelling has been used.

Months of the year when events occurred have often been derived from evidence given in admiralty examinations. They have been given as a guideline to the sequence of events and should not be regarded as being scrupulously accurate.

References, except to High Court of Admiralty records, have been shortened in the interests of space.

ADYN, Arthur (flor. 1604-12)

Was an adventurer in the Vineyard, a Dutch privateer, and was present at the capture of the St. Anthony of Lisbon as she left that port (15 December 1604). Returned to England in the St. Anthony and sold his booty in the vicinity of Weymouth.

February 1606, left the Thames as captain of the Dutch-owned Golden Phoenix, 35 tons, 'on warrefare'. Brought a Portuguese sugar prize into Safi and sold her cargo to Englishmen. A deleted examination states that Adyn seized the Dutch privateer Vineyard at Safi in May 1606 and appointed Thomas Wilson master, but that Wilson was dispossessed of his command by Captain Milknapp, a Dutchman.

August 1606, Adyn returned to Holland with a Brazilman and brought in another prize in May 1607.

1608, he and ten men boarded the Grace of God near the Isle of Wight and gave chase to a Flemish ship. They were arrested by Sir William Monson, but Adyn escaped ashore, apparently in debt.

He probably returned to piracy, for early in 1612 a Captain Adyn was at Mamora and refused James' pardon because of Roger Middleton's conduct.

/H.C.A. 1/5/121; 1/46/225-6, 283-4, 286-7, 298: 18, 19 December 1605, 22 September, 1 October, 12 November 1606; 13/97/3, 231, 237-8: 13 May 1607, 17 October, 3 November 1608; 13/98/78: 3 July 1613./

ALLEN, John, alias SALLOWES (flor. 1601-4)

Exceptional in that he entered Spanish service in the last years of war and attacked English shipping.

1599, stole silk from the Globe of London when pilot of the ship.

c. 1601, went to Dunkirk with his family and operated from that port under Spanish letters of marque. Piloted Dunkirk privateers into English waters and was present at the capture of prizes as high up the Thames as Leigh. Had his own command on several voyages.

Returned to England soon after James' accession, perhaps in hope of a pardon. Bragged of his deeds and plotted to return to piracy. Was consequently arrested and indicted for piracy on the Speedwell and the Samaritan of London on the Russian coast in 1602. Also accused of the murder of John Monie, master of the Samaritan, slain 'by a muskett shott which wente throughe both his thyes.'

Hanged at Wapping, Saturday morning, 21 April 1604. Some men witnessed his execution from a boat on the opposite side of the river.

/H.C.A. 1/5/14-16; 1/46/104-6, 110: 28 March, 11 April 1604; 13/37/33: 22 May 1604./

ALLEN, William (flor. 1605-12?)

1605, Captain Allen was reported in command of a man-of-war at Sapienza. In the previous year a William Allen of Fowey had been named as lieutenant to Jennings in the Pied Lion.

1612, a William Allen of Fowey, sailor, was involved in piracies on Dutch vessels in the North Sea and on the Norwegian coast.

/H.C.A. 1/6/80-1; 1/46/188-9: 28 May, 10 June 1605. B.M. Lansd. MS. 142, f. 325./

ARTHUR, Richard (flor. 1611-12)

A Plymouth man.

Summer 1611, was captain of a French prize in Easton's fleet. Surrendered this vessel to Sir William Hull, vice-admiral of Munster, but was not arrested. Returned to sea in one of Francke's prizes and sailed south with the pirate fleet.

Was at Mamora when James' pardon arrived and gave Middleton 1 lh. of gold. Surrendered in Ireland in 1612 in Francke's ship the Fortune. Pardoned.

/H.C.A. 1/47/251, 284: 15 November 1611, 2 May 1612; 13/98/82, 130: 23 July, 28 October 1613. C.S.P. Ir. 1611-14, p.89./

BAKER (flor. 1614)

July 1614, was captain of a Flemish ship which took men and arms from the Edmund and the Francis of Newhaven off Padstow.

/H.C.A. 13/98/213: 17 August 1614./

BALLADINE (flor. 1608)

Served the duke of Tuscany.

Summer 1608, was at Lisbon with Brocket and bought the Susan of Chepstow. Was due to take possession of the Susan after she had completed a voyage to Leghorn, but ran off with her and her cargo of sugar and pepper. Also reported to be carrying jewels worth 70,000 ducats for the pope and the duke of Florence. This action seriously damaged the credit of English merchants in Portugal.

Balladine and Brocket failed to sell their loot at La Rochelle and sailed to Safi, where the Susan was captured by other English pirates (12 July 1608).

/H.C.A. 1/6/6; 1/47/93: 27 March 1610. S.P. 89/3/52, 102-3./

BARRET, John (flor. 1610)

1605, apprenticed to an oilman in London but left after an argument. A London mariner of the same name was a pirate in the Atlantic under Richard Robinson in 1607.

1609, was captain of a pirate ship at Santa Cruz, was arrested in Ireland with Coward, June 1610, and sent to England for trial. Claimed he had joined Coward in Ireland in April and had only been at sea for a few weeks. Named as an oilman of London in the indictment for piracy on the Swan of Dunkirk (30 May 1610).

/H.C.A. 1/5/201; 1/6/36; 1/47/126, 136, 145-6:. 2 June, 21 July, 27 August 1610. H.M.C. Eighth Report, I. 399. C.S.P. Ir. 1608-10, passim/

BARRY, Lording or Ludowick (flor. 1608-18)

London, gentleman, aged 30 in 1616. Playwrite, author of 'Ram Alley'.

Was among a band of pirates who captured the Black Horse of Flushing in the Thames (August 1608).

1609, was captured in Ireland in Harris' pirate ship but released as a minor offender. By November was in Capt. Kelly's pirate ship which plundered an English vessel off Gibraltar.

Was based at Leghorn in subsequent years. Late 1610, brought the duke of Tuscany's offer of protection to the English pirates at Mamora. Employed by the Duppa brothers to transport booty from Mamora to Leghorn.

c. 1614, 'Captain Barrowe, who was a player in England ', sailed out of Leghorn as James Duppa's lieutenant.

1615, purchased a ship mounting twelve guns at Leghorn, and sailed for England. Eventually came into Berchaven in August 1615.

Examined in the High Court of Admiralty, July 1616, but no further action was taken against him.

1617, sailed with Raleigh, whom he tried to persuade to plunder French ships.

Probably died 1629.

/Supra, p. 95. H.C.A. 1/47/33, 36, 105, 196, 217: 18, 21 August 1609, 4 June, 18 July 1611; 1/48/48, 104, 148-9, 153-4: 15 June 1615, 2 July 1616, 11-12 November 1617; 13/98/191: 23 May 1614. C.H. L'Estrange Ewen, Lording Barry - Poet and Pirate, 1938./

BASTFIELD, Lambert (flor. 1612)

Liverpudlian.

Captured the William and John of Weymouth forty leagues off the Scillies (September 1612), but was surprised by the Dutch naval captain Moy Lambert whilst graving and tallowing his ship in Ireland. Escaped, and sailed to Mamora in a Dutch vessel captured at Dublin, spoiling two Weymouth vessels on the way, but was captured by the Moors. On being released made his way to Algiers, where he may have served in Turkish men-of-war.

/H.C.A. 13/42/113: 15 December 1612; 13/98/79-80: 9 July 1613./

BAUGH, William (flor. 1610-12)

One of the most notorious of the Atlantic rovers. Aged twenty-five in 1613.

c. 1610, was marauding in the Orkneys in the John, along with Philip Walker and Captain Peters, a Dutchman. Took several prizes and brought them to Munster.

Suffered a setback when he lost his ship and goods to Simon Stout and Peter Peck, two Flemish rovers, although he himself was abb to escape aboard Walker's ship. He had his revenge late in 1610 when, with five other English pirate captains, he routed the Flemings at Mamora and killed Stout.

1611, referred to as 'rear-admiral' in Easton's fleet and commanded a 160-ton ship mounting eighteen guns. Was present at the capture of the Concord and the Philip Bonaventure. Sailed to Mamora, where he sold some of his booty to Middleton to obtain supplies. Urged on by Middleton, he did not accept his pardon immediately, but returned to sea. In a few months he took several rich prizes, including the Bull of Dieppe (14 May 1612), said to be carrying jewels worth £20,000.

Surrendered at Kinsale June 1612 in the Archangel of Lubeck, with several prizes and booty worth in excess of £3,000. Allowed to keep half his loot under the terms of a pardon extended by lord deputy Chichester, but after his surrender to Irish officials he was arrested by the naval captain St. John, acting on a directive from the Privy Council. Late in 1612, Chichester's offer of a pardon was confirmed by James and Baugh was allowed to keep much of his loot.

Complicated legal wranglings ensued. Baugh accused St. John of embezzling his booty while French merchants sued Baugh in order to recover their plundered goods. The admiralty judge found Baugh's charges unproven and St. John was reinstated, albeit with little honour.

Probably settled in Ireland, for in 1613 he was described as a gentleman of Inishoon.

/Supra, 145, 147-8. H.C.A. 1/6/113; 1/47/177, 193, 217-8, 222, 233, 310-11: 9 April, 31 May, 22 July, 13, 26 August 1611; 13/42/206-8, 215: 20, 21 August 1613; 13/98/18-9, 20-1, 23-4, 33-4, 37-9, 45-6, 58, 77, 82-3, 129, 149-52: 19, 25, 27 January, 1, 26 March, 10 April, 14 June,

3, 23 July, 28 October, 16 December 1613; 24/76/168. B.M. Cott. MS. Otho E VIII, ff. 382-3. S.P. 14/65/16; 14/71/43. Lambeth Palace, S.P. Carew, vol. 619, ff. 125, 133, 138, 143, 145. Analecta Hibernica, pp. 34-6, 43-4, 46, 63-4, 69, 107-8, 136-7. C.S.P. Ir. 1611-14, passim. A.P.C. 1613-14, passim.7

BETON, David (flor. 1616)

London, mariner.

7Supra, pp. 182-3.7

BEVINS, 7Thomas?7 (flor. 1608)

Sometime servant to Sir Robert Mansell.

1608, was at sea with Sockwell in a Dutch pink. Was made captain of the pink by Sockwell, who took a better ship, and captured a Portuguese fishing vessel off Mogador, and a flyboat laden with sugar near St. Michael's in the Canaries. As he was bound for Plymouth to sell his loot, he was captured off Padstow by Captain Thomas Button in the king's pinnace Acquittance. He and his accomplices were sent to London, but he does not appear to have been arraigned.

In an indictment which apparently relates to the piracy on the flyboat, the leader is described as Thomas 7 , London, gentleman.

7H.C.A. 1/101/45; 13/97/203-4, 216-7, 221, 224-5: 19 September, 5, 7, 10 October 1608; 13/40/6: 8 October 1608.7

BILLET,

See PANDEXTER, John.

BINGLEY, Sir Ralph (flor. 1607)

A gentleman who lived in Ireland, where he had strong connections with pirates.

In 1606, he assembled three ships, ostensibly for a voyage to Virginia, although his real purpose appears to have been to sail to Russia and plunder the abbey of St. Nicholas. His plans proved abortive, but in 1607 he sailed to the Spanish coast in the Trial of London and took several prizes.

In June 1607 two of his ships, with a French prize, were arrested at Baltimore, but he was able to escape punishment by compounding his crime. Wrote to Salisbury excusing his actions in April 1608.

He is again mentioned in connection with piracy in 1615, when he was reported to have traded with Walsingham and to have seized goods from a Spanish Brazilman which Tucker had brought to Ireland.

/H.C.A. 1/46/321, 335-7: 2 March, 29 April 1607; 1/48/53, 129: 22 July 1615, 24 March 1617; 13/97/15-17, 207-8: 31 May, 1 June 1607, 22 September 1608. H.M.C. Salisbury, XIX. 170. C.S.P. Ir. 1606-8, passim./

BISHOP, Richard (flor. 1603-11)

One of the most famous pirates of his day. Aged fifty-two in 1613.

Possibly the same gentleman as Richard Bishop of Yarmouth who was captain of a privateer in 1592.

Served with distinction in Ireland under Sir John Norris. After peace with Spain in 1604, left England in his ship, the Blessing, carrying Dutch letters of marque. Probably met John Ward at Sally and accompanied him to Tunis. Certainly, by 1605 a Richard Bishop, born at Yarmouth and known as Captain Bishop, was at Tunis.

Remained at Tunis for about three years, making little out of piracy. Hated Ward and the Turks. By 1608 he had left Tunis for good and was roving in the Atlantic. Was indicted in England on four separate counts, being described as a gentleman of either London or Dartmouth.

Lorded it in Ireland, and brought many prizes into the vicinity of Baltimore. In 1609, at the height of his fame, was 'admiral' of 1,000 men and ten or more ships. Was described by lord deputy Chichester as 'by farr the most sufficient man amongest them all /the pirates/; both for Cowncell and Commaund.'

Early in 1610 he was anxious for a pardon, but had no success, for at the end of the year he appears at Mamora, where he witnessed the battle between the English and Dutch rovers.

In 1611 his man-of-war was captured in Ireland by two Dutch warships and he was forced to flee ashore. Although there is no record that he received a formal pardon, he was used by the government in negotiations with Easton's band of pirates in the summer of 1611 and in the following year he played a part in Baugh's surrender.

Resisting all inducements to return to sea, he built a house in Ireland ' after the English fation'. In 1613-14 he gave evidence in the High Court of Admiralty three times, when he was described as a gentleman of Schull. Despite his apparent reformation, Bishop probably continued to be involved with pirates after settling in Ireland. In 1617 it was reported that Sir Thomas Roper had arrested the pirate captain Fleming 'in the house of one Cap /t./ Bishopp, an old pardoned pirate, that lives suspiciously near Limcon and Scull Haven, ever plotting with and relieving of pirates'.

/Supra, pp. 72-4, 135-7. H.C.A. 1/46/143: 31 July 1604; 1/47/32, 61-2, 65, 78, 105, 116, 178, 198, 246; 17 August, 8, 13 December 1609, 27 January, 3 May 1610, 9 April, 11 June, 2 November 1611; 13/39/147: 23 March 1608; 13/40/77, 80: 26 January 1609; 13/42/151: 3 May 1613; 13/97/14, 103, 202, 256-7, 267, 271, 274: 30 May, 27 December 1607, 19 September, 16 December 1608, 19, 21, 25 January 1611; 13/98/30-2, 38, 213: 26 February, 26 March 1613, 20 August 1614. B.M. Cott. MS. Otho E VIII, ff. 170, 378. Lambeth Palace, S.P. Carew, vol. 619, ff. 125, 135, 138, 143. S.P. 89/3/101-2. C.S.P. Ir. 1608-10 and 1611-14, passim. H.M.C. Buccleuch, I. 194, Salisbury, XX. 236, Downshire, II. 195. Analecta Hibernica, p. 35./

BLACK WILL (flor. 1620)

Thameside pirate.

/Supra, pp. 178-9./

BLAKE, George (flor. 1605-8)

Gosport man.

With Ward at Tunis from c. 1605. Spring 1608, was at Algiers as master of the Europeans on board Ward's 'vice-admiral' of 240 tons.

/H.C.A. 1/47/65; 13 December 1609; 13/97/14, 264: 30 May 1607, 4 January 1609./

BONITON, Peter (flor. 1608-9)

Cornishman. Perhaps the 'Boneighton' who, in 1606, deprived some pirates of their loot and released them.

Prominent in the Atlantic in 1608. Brought several prizes into Baltimore, including a Dunkirk pink with money and munitions intended for Dunkirk or for the Irish rebels. Barker wrote of him: 'this Boniton was one of the Ireland Pirates, whose purpose was to goe unto the Staits to learne newes.'

Was attacked off the Spanish coast in the spring of 1609 by M. de Beaulieu, a French privateer with a commission to capture pirates. After a gallant defence, Boniton surrendered and was taken to Marseilles and executed (June 1609).

/H.C.A. 1/46/250-1: 3 May 1606; 1/47/6, 99, 104: 20 May 1609, 17, 21 April 1610; 13/40/17: 9 November 1608; 13/97/209, 234-6, 243, 252: 22 September, 25 October, 2, 17 November, 8 December 1608. Barker, A True Report, pp. 25-6. Dan, Histoire de Barbarie et de ses Corsaires, pp. 191-2. C.S.P. Ir. 1608-10, p. 130./

BONNAGE, Gabriel (flor. 1603-13)

Enjoyed a long career.

Master's mate of Tompkin's ship at the piracy on the Black Balbiana near Cyprus (22 March 1603). Indicted as a sailor of Southampton, but also said to hail from Stutton, Suffolk, which seems more likely, since he went ashore with his loot in Norfolk.

Perhaps he was the same Gabriel as Mathew Brook's master who joined Vaughan's pirate crew at Salcombe in 1607.

Summer 1609, was master of Francke's vessel, and in the following year was captain of his own ship. Operated in the Atlantic and was familiar with the inhabitants of Leamcon.

Fell ill in Ireland and was allowed to recuperate there by Sir William Hull, to whom he entrusted over £300 in gold. Was arrested by the provost marshal of Munster and sent to Chester, although Chichester believed that there was 'no matter to be layd to his charge'. The lord admiral ordered his release on 1 November 1611. There is a suspicion that he purchased his freedom, for when examined in the admiralty court in March 1613, (described as a Bristol mariner), he testified that £50 of his loot had been sent to Nottingham. He also said that in 1612 he had compounded a piracy with a man named de Cuyper for £19.

In 1613 he returned to piracy, taking his thirteen year-old son Benjamin with him. Left Gravesend and captured the Croysant of Touques at the Isle of Thanet (17 September), going ashore with his loot near Orford Ness. For this piracy he was indicted as a Colchester mariner, although his son was described as coming from Ipswich.

/H.C.A. 1/5/40; 1/6/117; 1/46/85, 129: 19 January, 3 May 1604; 1/47/105, 250: 15 November 1611; 13/97/57-8: 20 October 1607; 13/98/35, 126-9, 136-7: 4 March, 23, 26 October, 6 November 1613; Lambeth Palace, S.P. Carew, vol. 619, ff. 125, 138-9, 145; H.M.C. Eight Report, I. 399-400. C.S.P. Ir. 1608-10, p.495; C.S.P.Ir. 1615-25, p.302./

BRAY, Walter (flor. 1611-13)

Joined Easton from the Concord, which was captured in June 1611, and became one of his chief officers. Returned to England after Easton surrendered at Villefranche and early in 1614 was Townes' lieutenant in a piracy at Limerick.

/H.C.A. 13/98/26, 62, 229: 11 February, 14 June 1613, 20 September 1614./

BREAM, William (flor. 1603-5)

Plymouth, mariner. Aged 40 in 1607.

Transported Englishmen to the Low Countries after peace with Spain. Fought at the capture of Sluys for which he was granted letters of marque by the Grave Maurice.

Sailed to the Spanish coast in a thirty-ton bark under guise of trading, to view troop movements. Captured a Spanish carvel laden with cloth, some of which was sold at Portsmouth. Some of the cloth confiscated but no further action taken.

Delivered a request for a pardon to one of the judges of the admiralty from some English pirates living at Middleburg. Probably ceased to serve the Dutch after James' proclamation of 1605.

/H.C.A. 1/46/202-3: 10, 11 July 1605; 1/47/170: 6 March 1611; 13/97/2-4: 13 May 1607./

BROCKET, Edward (flor. 1603-8)

Helped Gifford in his attempt to fire the gallies at Algiers (5 April 1603), and took prisoners at Bougie. Sought asylum in Tuscany and joined Balladine to plunder the Susan in 1608.

/Supra, p.55. H.C.A. 1/46/243: 28 January 1606; 1/47/93: 27 March 1610. S.P. 71/1/13, 89/3/52, 102-3./

BROOKS, Mathew, alias COWPER (flor. 1607)

London, wireman.

Sold his business and went to Flushing, where he purchased a ship. Sailed as captain of his vessel and plundered a French ship (6 March 1607). Bought a pink and set out on a second voyage, but was robbed by Dunkirkers and only escaped capture by the timely intervention of some Dutch men-of-war.

Returned penniless to England. Saved some money and went to Flushing again, this time to serve as a soldier.

/H.C.A. 1/5/183; 13/97/57-8: 20 October 1607./

BROOKE, Morgan (flor. 1604)

Weymouth, mariner.

Sailed from Weymouth late 1604 as captain of the Dutch privateer Vineyard. Captured the St. Anthony of Portugal near Lisbon (15 December 1604) and brought her to England, where some of her cargo was sold with the assistance of the captain of Portland Castle.

Was arrested by the Spanish ambassador, and condemned in the sum of 3,000 crowns. Freed on appeal and had the audacity to threaten to sue those who had testified against him. This prompted the exasperated ambassador to exclaim that 'the pirate takes his pleasure and remains as though he had never committed such acts.'

/H.C.A. 1/5/121; 1/46/217-8, 225-8: 19 November, 18, 19 December 1605. H.M.C. Salisbury, XIX. 168-9./

BROOKS, Thomas (flor. 1612-14?)

1612, a captain amongst the English pirates at Mamora. 15 January 1613, Nottingham gave orders for 'Thomas Brooke alias Carpenter' who had been sent to England from Ireland, to be brought to London. Perhaps the man of the same name who sailed from Leghorn with Duppa and Francke c. 1614.

/H.C.A. 1/47/276: 9 April 1612; 1/48/47-8: 15 June 1615; 13/98/82: 23 July 1613; 14/42/37./

BROWN (flor. 1622-3)

1622, was reported to have committed many spoils as captain of a French prize which he had been given by Furbush. In October, his ship was reported to have been stayed at Shoreham.

After the expiry of the truce between Holland and Spain, Brown went to sea with Dutch letters of marque and mistakenly ran a ship of Amsterdam aground near Beachy Head.

/H.C.A. 1/49/32: 13 February 1624. A.P.C. 1621-3, p.334./

BROWN, George, alias HARRIS, John (flor. 1607)

London, gentleman.

Led a band down the Thames and looted a 'crayer' at Tilbury and a Dutch pink at Margate before going ashore (23 October 1607).

/H.C.A. 1/5/177-8; 13/97/66-7: 30 October 1607./

BROWN, Gregory (flor. 1606-8)

Plymouth man.

1606, sailed with Exton under Dutch letters of marque. Late 1608, sold sugar from a Brazilman at Safi and brought a French corn ship into Baltimore in company with Boniton.

/H.C.A. 1/47/6: 20 May 1609; 13/40/77: 26 January 1609; 13/97/44, 267; 15 August 1607, 19 January 1609./

CADE, Samuel (flor. 1603-16)

Barnstaple, mariner. Persistent offender.

Spent his early career in the Mediterranean: with Pierce at the piracy on the Vemera of Venice (13 January 1603), and with Ward in further piracies against the Venetians.

Summer 1607, returned to England in a merchantman, but in 1608 was one of the crew of the Ulysses of London who plundered the Susan at Safi (12 July).

Was prominent in Harvey's crew in the Atlantic. 1609, was living at Leamcon, and was employed by Humphry Jobson, vice-admiral of Munster, to board pirate ships, recover booty, sell pardons and even make arrests. It was claimed by Jobson that he was used to persuade the pirates to surrender, although his primary concern seems to have been to buy goods at cut rates for transportation to England. In this work, he met most of the leading pirates of the day. Bishop, Francke, Parker and Finch all gave him part of their booty, and Sammes handed over a French prize.

January 1610, surrendered to the vice-president of Munster. Brought to England, was examined in the admiralty court, but was released.

c. 1614, a Plymouth sailor of the same name was at Mamora with Collins.

Returned to Ireland from Leghorn with Barry (August 1615) and bribed Jobson to get a pardon. Last heard of early in 1616 when he stole away from London in the African and plundered the Prodigal Son of Amsterdam off the North Foreland.

/H.C.A. 1/5/22, 184; 1/6/6, 176; 1/47/70, 79, 81, 90-3, 120, 150: 14 December 1609, 27, 29 January, 27 March, 7 May, 10 October 1610; 1/48/76-7, 104: 14 March, 2 July 1616; 13/39/225: 23 June 1608; 13/98/199: 28 June 1614. B.M. Cott. MS Otho E VIII, f. 355./

CARY, Captain (flor. 1628)

'That old arch-pirate'.

A George Carey is to be found trading with Walsingham and his pirate crew in Ireland in 1615.

/Supra, p.201 H.C.A. 1/48/129: 24 March 1617./

CATRO, Richard alias DICK OF DOVER (flor. 1613-20)

Infamous Thamesside pirate.

/Supra, pp. 179-80./

CLARK, William (flor. 1612?-15)

A Southwold mariner who had served as bosun's mate in Monson's ship in the channel squadron.

By 1614, he was firmly established amongst the English pirates using Morocco and worked further north than most of the other pirates. In 1614 he visited Icelandic waters, preying on the fishermen, and in June he spoiled the Fortune and the Neptune, both of Copenhagen, at Vestmannaejar and held the island for two weeks.

Was in consort with Walsingham in Spanish waters at the capture of the Anne Gabriel (27 October 1614).

Went to Algiers after the loss of Mamora and was in command of a vessel manned by Turks when Walsingham plundered the Susan Constance (28 June 1615).

It seems likely that his operations in Iceland laid the basis for the Algerine raid of 1617.

His career may have begun in 1612, for one 'William Clarke', a Rochester sailor, was indicted for two piracies committed on the east coast in that year.

/Supra, p. 130. H.C.A. 1/6/82-3, 144-5; 1/48/21, 64: 7 January, 14 December 1615; 13/98/215, 219-20: 24 August, 13 September 1614. S.P. 75, bundle 5, ff. 111, 113. Monson, Naval Tracts, III. 57./

CLEMENTS, Daniel (flor. 1606)

London, gentleman. Aged 24 in 1606.

Born in Brabant but lived for twenty years in London. Made good use of his dual nationality. Was page to the admiral of Holland and then served in privateers, eventually gaining his own command.

February 1606, sailed from Salcombe in the Vineyard, a Dutch privateer, and took a Brazilman laden with sugar. Sold her cargo in Barbary and Holland. 'Discontented' with his crew, he returned to England, where he was examined in the admiralty court, although no further action was taken.

/H.C.A. 1/5/122;[174] 1/46/293-5: 23 October 1606./

COLLINS, Abraham, alias WORSWICK (flor. 1606-9)

Plymouth, mariner. Aged 36 in 1607.

June 1606, joined Exton's ship, the Green Dragon of Flushing, at Cawsand Bay and returned to England c. September 1607 with some booty taken from a Spanish Brazilman. Felt cheated by Gerson Manning, an Englishman who had helped finance the voyage of the Green Dragon from Holland, and with some other crew members, presented a document to the admiralty incriminating Manning and begging a pardon for himself.

Probably related to William Worswick, alias Collins, a servant of the vice-admiral of Devon, who was closely involved with pirates at this time.

1609, was captured by the French in Boniton's Flemish flyboat and taken to Marseilles, where he probably ended his life in the gallies.

/H.C.A. 1/46/270-2: 25 July 1606; 13/97/2-4, 42-3: 13 May, 15 August 1607. Barker, A True Report, p. 25./

COLLINS, John (flor. 1614-18?)

1614, was captain of the Barbara of Lubeck at Mamora and 'rear-admiral' to Mainwaring. Possibly the same man as the Captain Collins who left Raleigh's expedition in 1618 to plunder the fishermen in Newfoundland.

/H.C.A. 1/48/217: 21 January 1619; 13/98/199, 211: 28 June, 9 August 1614./

CONNELLO, /William?/ (flor. 1603?-5)

A 'notable offender'.

Captain Connello seized goods belonging to merchants of Barnstaple. Was captured in Ireland in 1605 and sent to England for trial. Was confident that his influence with the lord chamberlain and the lord admiral would secure his release, as it had done previously, when he had been imprisoned at Exeter for piracy.

William Conniloe, a mariner of Ostan, Devon, was tried for committing a piracy on a French ship at Plymouth on 16 November 1603. If this was the same man, his influence may have saved him, for he was acquitted.

He may also have spoiled Venetian shipping, for in 1603, a pirate named William Cunelo was arrested on his return to England on the orders of the Venetian Secretary.

/H.C.A. 1/5/19. C.S.P. Ir. 1603-06, pp. 382-3. C.S.P. Ven. 1603-7, p. 59./

COWARD, Thomas (flor. 1604-10)

Bristol, mariner. A persistent offender, and the only pirate whom Chichester, writing in 1610, had seen face to face.

October 1604, was in prison at Bristol, charged with piracy against French and Bristol merchants. No criminal proceedings were taken because the recorder of Bristol and the doctor of law were absent from the city. Was released after reaching a composition with the merchants he had robbed and received a pardon.

1606, sailed from Schiedam in a Dutch 'privateer' as Captain Sky's master.

First referred to as 'captain' in 1607, when he was among a band of pirates at Kinsale. Was involved in an abortive attempt to seize a ship in Cork harbour.

Mid-1607, his ship was captured at Youghal and he was kept prisoner in Ireland for many months, much to the irritation of the Privy Council. During this time he found favour with the chief baron and the earl of Thomond, who advised that it was best 'to cherish him for his better part (being a good seaman and an excellent pilot upon this coast).' He was finally sent to England in March 1608, but was soon released. The Council later regretted their decision, for the following year they wrote that 'Captain Coward, to whom favour was lately shown ... has returned to his former courses, and is now a dangerous pirate.'

After his release, Coward spent nine months with Easton, who made him captain of the John in May 1609. Later that year he was master of a 140-ton Dutch ship captained by Harvey.

Early 1610, he was captain of a Flemish vessel, 250 tons, twenty guns, captured on the Spanish coast. In March he intercepted the Primrose of London off Cape Finisterre and in May, off the Lizard, he forced the Welcome of London to strike and also captured the Swan of Dunkirk.

June 1610, sailed to Inis Buffyn in Ireland with the Swan and was captured by Lenan de Rosse, a Dutchman. Was sent to London, interrogated in the admiralty (7 August 1610), and indicted for three piracies committed in May. Convicted in October, he was hanged at Wapping.

/H.C.A. 1/6/36-8; 1/46/336: 29 April 1607; 1/47/21, 78, 94, 103, 105, 129-30, 133, 135-6, 138, 145-6, 149: 22 June 1609, 27 January, 31 March, 21 April, 8, 13 June, 21 July, 7, 27 August, 10 October 1610; 1/60/50; 13/97/8, 208: 15 May 1607, 22 September 1608. C.S.P. Ir. 1606-08, passim; C.S.P. Ir. 1608-10, pp. 200 473, 487. B.M. Lansd. MS. 142, f.251, Cott. MS. Otho E VIII, f. 355. Lambeth Palace, S.P. Carew, vol. 619, f. 135. H.M.C. Eighth Report, I. 399. C.S.P. Dom.1603-10, p.218./

COWPER See BROOKS, Mathew.

CRAFTON, Abraham (flor. 1606-8)

Indicted as a London mariner, but said to come from Redruth.

1606-7, master of John Ward's ship and indicted with him for two piracies. Ward made him captain of the Soderina with a mixed Anglo-Turkish crew of 400. He was drowned when the ship sank off Cerigo early in 1608.

May be identified with the London mariner of the same name, who was one of a band of pirates which plundered a French vessel at Conquet in 1603.

/H.C.A. 1/5/10, 184, 207; 1/47/65: 13 December 1609; 13/97/13: 30 May 1607. Barker, A True Report, pp.16-17/

DICK OF DOVER See CATRO, Richard.

DOWNES, John (flor. 1606-9)

Langham, Essex, merchant. One of the best-known pirates of his day.

1606, was in an Anglo-Dutch band which captured a Portuguese carvel near Madeira (June) and which took two French vessels near Gibraltar in September. By the end of the year, the pirates were at Fowey, where they sold their booty and remained for several weeks, fitting out their ship with the connivance of the vice-admiral of Cornwall and other local officers. Returning to sea, they encountered a Dutch naval squadron, which escorted them to Holland, where Downes spent three weeks in prison in Amsterdam before being released.

Next heard of in April 1608 as captain of a twenty-five ton bark of Penryn, which plundered the Royal of Leith off the north coast of Cornwall and cruelly mistreated her crew.

October 1608, sailed from Plymouth for Guinea as captain of a small bark, but joined forces with a small band of pirates under Captain Tompkins. The pirates sailed for the Severn, but their ship was wrecked near Swansea, and Downes, with a fortune in gold, was arrested by Sir Lewis Mansell at a fair near Cowbridge (December). Imprisoned at Cardiff before being sent to London. Escaped near Reading but was recaptured in Cornwall. Was tried in London and convicted of piracy, December 1609. Hanged at Wapping.

/H.C.A. 1/6/9-11, 46; 1/47/49, 51-4, 56, 70-1, 187: 13, 20, 24 November, 16 December 1609, 4 May 1611; 13/97/238-9: 3 November 1608; 13/98/194: 8 June 1614./

DOWNES (flor. 1631-2)

From the Helford area.

Captured several ships and was the main reason for the granting of a commission to Exeter to set out ships against pirates (22 April 1631). A consort of Robert Nutt. Was captured at the Isle of Man.

/Supra, p. 202. H.C.A. 1/49/75: 24 March 1631. S.P. 16/208/657./

DRAKE, Arthur (flor. 1603?-7)

Remarkable as the only negro known to have held a position of importance in a pirate ship.

'Mr. Drake, a black man dwelling at Plymouth', was with Vaughan c. May 1607 at the spoil of the Pearl off the south-west coast of Spain. When Vaughan returned to England he remained at sea as lieutenant to Roberts and was indicted along with Roberts for piracy on two ships of Roscoff later in 1607. In these indictments he is described as Arthur Drake, a Plymouth mariner.

His career probably began in 1603, for Arthur Drake, Plymouth, mariner, was one of those who took part in the piracy on the Esperance of La Rochelle off Cape Finisterre on 10 July 1603. In the following year a Plymouth man of the same name is again mentioned, this time in Pin's crew at the spoil of the Frances of Jersey off the Scillies.

His fate is uncertain, but he may have been the Drake who was prominent in Jenning's band which surrendered in Ireland early in 1609. This man was left in the custody of the earl of Thomond who had directions to send him to England. However, he was not arraigned in the High Court of Admiralty and may have received the pardon which had been promised him by Thomond.

/H.C.A. 1/5/45, 201-2; 1/46/208: 5 November 1611; 13/40/161: 16 June 1609. C.S.P. Ir. 1608-10, pp. 186-8./

DUNCOMB, Richard (flor. 1605)

1605, ran off with a ship from Cawsand Bay (July), captured a Brazilman laden with sugar and ginger and brought her into Middleburg. Obtained passage to England. Was arrested at Falmouth by Francis Vivian, vice-admiral of Cornwall, who released him.

Apparently not involved in piracy again, but in December 1609, a gentleman of the same name from Haston Conquest Bedfordshire, aged forty-two, who had been a slave in Barbary and had sailed with Captain Vaughan, the pirate, was examined in the admiralty.

/H.C.A. 1/46/207: 1 October 1605; 1/47/73: 30 December 1609; 13/97/3, 47, 76: 13 May, 22 August, 14 November 1607./

DUPPA, James (flor. 1613-14)

Resident at Leghorn, whence he traded with the English pirates at Mamora.

c. 1614, sent out two ships under the Tuscan flagand went as captain of one of these, the Falcon. Unpopular with those pirates who were professional seamen, who regarded him as a 'tufted taffeta Captaine'. A Merchant and trader rather than a pirate.

/Supra, 92-3. H.C.A. 1/48/47: 15 June 1615. See Michael Duppa./

DUPPA, Michael (flor. 1612-14)

Younger brother of James.

April 1612, was at Mamora in a Spanish prize purchased from Baugh. Sent money back to his wife in England. Later reported to be captain of a 160-ton flyboat at Mamora.

Is known to have plundered the Margaret of London off Gibraltar and to have taken a Portuguese vessel laden with sugar and spices. Sold most

of his loot to his brother, who disposed of it at Leghorn .

/H.C.A. 1/48/35-6: 17 April 1615; 13/98/14, 35-6, 65-6, 181, 188, 190-1, 199, 202-3, 211: 8 January, 10, 18 June 1613, 26 April, 23, 25 May, 28-9 June, 9 August 1614./

EARLE, Thomas or Francis, alias TURNER (flor. 1605)

Gathered a small crew together at Nieuport and went to sea in a fifteen-ton boat with Spanish letters of marque. Victualled in England and plundered the Falcon of Embden near Harwich (17 February 1605). Sailed to Scotland, was captured by the earl of Newbottle and sent to Edinburgh.

Possibly the same man as Thomas Turner (q.v.)

/H.C.A. 1/46/91, 174, 180: 28 March, 19 April, 18 June 1605./

EASTON, Peter (flor. 1607-13)

The most famous of the Atlantic pirates.

First heard of in 1607 as 'Peter Eeson' of Dartmouth who had served in a Dutch privateer under Captain Isaac and had been to sea with Sir Ralph Bingley.

Later in 1607 was in Richard Robinson's crew and was indicted for piracy against the St. Anne and the Janet of Roscoff, off the Isles of Bayonne (Otober). Described as a Plymouth mariner in the indictments, but one of his ship-mates referred to him as a gunner.

Early 1608, quarrelled with Robinson and sailed off with one of his prizes. From this date until 1612 he roved the Atlantic and gained a pre-eminent position amongst the pirates.

Although he committed many depredations, he was only indicted once more - for a piracy committed in May 1609.

Became increasingly hostile towards English shipping. The government was particularly alarmed about his activities after the capture of the Concord of London on 26 June 1611. His strength and defiance were instrumental in persuading James to offer a general pardon to the pirates.

1612, crossed the ocean and wrought havoc amongst the Newfoundland fishermen. Never received his English pardon and retired to Savoy with his riches. William Parkhurst, the English agent in Savoy, has left a vivid description of the arch-pirate soon after his arrival at Villefranche in February 1613:

> This Easton hath since beene with me: hee seemeth to have the age of 40 yeares: his countenance is rude and savadge (whichthe Duke tooke notice off), his speech and carriage is slow, subtile, and guilty ...

/Supra, pp. 88-91, 137-44, H.C.A. 1/5/201-2; 1/6/26; 13/97/17, 144, 209: 1 June 1607, 19 April, 22 September 1608. S.P. 92/1/100./

ELLIS, John (flor. 1606?-19)

There may well have been more than one pirate named Ellis.

1613, John Ellis, Plymouth, gentleman, left Plymouth with Mainwaring and is listed soon after as captain of a 300-ton Flemish ship at Mamora. Sailed to Newfoundland with Mainwaring in 1614 and came to Ireland with him the following year. Does not, however, appear to have received a pardon, and in 1616 or 1617 was again marauding in Newfoundland. Eventually returned to the British coast in search of a pardon, but was captured and indicted for two piracies committed in 1618. Examined in the admiralty court (16 March 1619), tried in May and sentenced to death - a sentence which was almost certainly carried out.

A Captain Ellis of Bristol captured three French vessels in the first years of James' reign, and a John Ellis is mentioned in October 1606 as one of a pirate crew which took the Hunter of Normandy at Safi. This man, a Plymouth mariner, aged twenty-five, was arrested in Devon and examined in the High Court of Admiralty on 7 February 1607. He was tried for piracy and convicted, but received a pardon. In 1609, a John Ellis also appears in Ireland in Francke's crew. This was probably the same man who, by 1611, had risen to be one of Easton's captains.

/Supra, p. 165. H.C.A. 1/5/143; 146-7 1/7/7, 8, 13, 23; 1/47/105, 251: 15 November 1611; 1/48/35, 193, 227-8: 5 April 1615, 3 December 1618, 16 March 1619; 1/60/27; 13/98/211: 9 August 1614. S.P. 78/52/119. C.S.P. Ir. 1611-14, p. 89. C.S.P. Ven. 1619-21, passim./

EXTON, John (flor. 1602-8)

Merchant, born in the Parish of St. James, Taunton. Described by the Spanish ambassador as 'a famous pirate, whom the other pirates call their general.' Easily recognisable by his green clothes.

Indicted for piracy against the Serena, alias the Mermaid of Olonne in November 1602.

Served as a soldier in the Low Countries for two-and-a-half years.

1605, was at Baltimore with/Captain Grimstone and two Spanish prizes.

Sailed with Isaac in the Dolphin of Flushing but claimed that he had been sick and had returned to Holland before Isaac took any prizes.

1606, reported at Cawsand Bay with two ships. Sailed from Holland as captain of the Green Dragon of Flushing. Captured a rich Spanish Brazilman and brought her back to Holland. Travelled to England 'to passe accomptes', but was arrested on the direction of the Spanish ambassador.

Was examined in the admiralty court 22 April 1607, described as a merchant, resident in Holland. Was tried and sentenced to death. Escaped from the Marshalsea Prison with the help of the deputy keeper and was in Rotterdam by 1608.

May have returned to England and laid low with relatives in Devon, for on 13 November 1611, John Exton, gentleman, of Fairway, Devon, was examined on suspicion of piracy. This man confessed nothing and was still in prison in May 1612. No criminal proceedings appear to have been taken against him, and he must have received a pardon, for a writ of non molestetis was issued for him.

/H.C.A. 1/5/155, 172; 1/6/93-4; 1/46/310-11, 334-9: 23 January, 22, 29 April 1607; 1/47/247-9, 285-7: 13 November 1611, 27 May 1612; 13/97/2-4, 10-11, 22-7, 42-5, 92-3, 229: 13, 16 May, 22, 25 June, 15 August, 15 December 1607, 10 October 1608; 14/38/75. H.M.C. Salisbury, XIX. 170./

FAGE, Arthur (flor. 1606)

FAGE, Simon (flor. 1606)

Brothers who were involved in the same piracy. Arthur is described as a London haberdasher and Simon, who was aged twenty-five in 1606, as a London mercer.

To try their luck at sea, Simon bought a Dunkirk bark at Flushing which he renamed the Why Not I? He victualled her and manned her with about thirty Englishmen, and with Arthur as captain, they went to sea. Took four bags of money worth at least £500 from a French ship near the Isles of Bayonne (26 June 1606). Simon was set ashore at Cawsand Bay with £350, but was arrested. Was tried and condemned to death in August 1606. He was still in the Marshalsea in mid-1607 and nearly escaped with Exton. Was eventually freed under circumstances which suggest admiralty collusion.

Arthur was apparently never arraigned.

/H.C.A. 1/5/110; 1/46/262-7: 15, 16, 19 July 1606; 1/60/21; 13/97/25: 22 June 1607. B.M. Cott. MS. Otho E VIII, f.2./

FALL, Edward (flor. 1601-4)

A London merchant from Paran, Sussex. Aged twenty-eight in 1602.

1601, indicted as captain of the Bravado for piracy against a French ship in the Mediterranean.

1603, was leader of a band of pirates which plundered the Violet of London off the Isle of Wight (14 November). He and his men met some of John Harper's crew who were returning from the Mediterranean, where they had captured a French vessel carrying the Venetian ambassador's wardrobe to England. Leaving their flyboat and most of their booty in Fall's hands, Harper's men went ashore in Devon. Fall was arrested and tried at Exeter, but was acquitted by a petty jury, perhaps because he had bribed Sir Richard Hawkins. The jurors were summoned to London and Fall was re-tried and convicted in the High Court of Admiralty in April 1604. He was hanged at Wapping, 25 May.

/H.C.A. 1/5/4-9; 1/46/28-36, 101-2, 122, 127, 185-6: 27, 31 March 1602, 21, 23 March, 25 April 1604, 15 May 1605; 1/60/4. B.M. Lansd. MS. 142, f. 225. Appendix III. /

FEARNE, Sir John (flor. 1611?)

Named as a pirate by Corbett, G.N. Clark and Fisher, probably on the strength of a report that he was off Gibraltar with ten sail of pirate ships in 1611.

From the State Papers, Portugal, it appears that he was at Lisbon in 1605 and in Spanish service in 1608.

The High Court of Admiralty records reveal no details of a piratical career, although some of his adventures bordered on piracy. In 1606 he had a share in Adyn's ship the Golden Phoenix, and the following year one of his ships, the Dragon of London, was due to go on a voyage to Virginia with Sir Ralph Bingley.

Fearne again appears in 1615, this time planning a trading voyage to the East Indies from Brest with a commission from the king of France.

In 1620 he was captain of the Marigold in the expedition against Algiers.

/H.C.A. 1/46/285-6, 335: 22 September, 1 October 1606, 29 April 1607; 1/48/51: 1 July 1615. S.P. 14/65/16; 89/3/53, 102. Corbett, England in the Mediterranean 1603-1713, I. 37, 51, 99. Godfrey Fisher, Barbary Legend. pp. 139, 177. G.N. Clark, Cambridge Historical Journal, XVIII (1944), no.1, p.28./

FINCH or FIDGE, John (flor. 1606-13)

Boxley, Kent, sailor.

c. August 1606, joined the Seacock, under Captain Hendricke Wilke, at Whitson Bay near Plymouth and sailed to Safi, where he and a few others seized the Hunter of Normandy and held her to ransom for 26,000 ounces of Barbary gold. Was arrested at Barnstaple on his return to England by the earl of Bath, and convicted of piracy, but received a pardon. A few years later a pirate band which ventured up the Shannon to Limerick was led by Captain Finch or Fidge, 'one that was once condemned for pyracye and had his pardon.'

Mid-1609, appears at Mamora, and was also in Ireland, in command of a crew of 'landishe men' in Bishop's fleet.

May have surrendered at Villefranche with Easton, but soon afterwards he and his men were reported to have been captured by Spanish galleons and taken to Spain, where Finch was expected to be executed (October 1613).

/H.C.A. 1/5/143; 146,193 1/6/149; 1/46/317-8, 321-4: 9 February, 10 March 1607; 1/47/79, 91, 105, 160; 27 January, 27 March 1610, 12 January 1611; 13/98/62: 14 June 1613. S.P. 94/20/97. H.M.C. Downshire, IV. 217./

FLEMING, John (flor. 1614?-17)

Probably born in Ireland, but a man of the same name is described as a London merchant in the indictment for piracy against the Mackeral of Dunkirk at Tilbury Hope (October 1614).

Early 1616, returned from a voyage to Brazil and he and some ship-mates hired a boat at Portsmouth to take them to the Isle of Wight. Seized control of this boat and captured a bark of Hastings off Beachy Head, which they used to take the Mary Anne of Milton at Ramsgate (March 1616). Robbed two west-country barks before sailing for Ireland in the Mary Anne.

April 1617, reported to have been arrested by Sir Thomas Roper at Richard Bishop's house near Schull, where he had been plotting to return to sea. Said to have committed several piracies in the summer of 1616 and to have murdered an important Dutch merchant near Youghal. Was probably tried in Munster.

/H.C.A. 1/6/139; 1/48/82, 106: 10 April, 2 August 1616. H.M.C. Buccleuch, I. 194./

FLOREY, Andrew (flor. 1603-9?)

Southampton, mariner.

Went to the Mediterranean in the Dragon, Sir Thomas Sherley's privateer, and became master of the George of Southampton, another of Sherley's ships. Assumed command of the George on the death of her captain and captured the Wagon of Embden near Cape de Gata, January 1603. Sold the Wagon and most of her cargo at Tunis and returned to England where the mayor and customs officers of Southampton received some gold cloth from the prize, although the capture had never been declared to be legal. Was indicted for piracy and arraigned in 1607, but was acquitted.

He may have returned to piracy, for in 1609 one Florey was named as a prominent member of the crew of the famous Flemish corsair Simon Danser, who was based at Algiers.

/H.C.A. 1/5/146, 187; 1/47/76-7: 18 January 1609; 1/60/34; 13/36/257; 27 June 1603; 13/97/87-8, 106: 26 November 1607, 4 January 1608./

FORD, Thomas, alias CAPTAIN FORD (flor. 1604-15)

A London gentleman using the alias Captain Ford was one of a band of pirates which plundered a hoy at Tilbury Hope on 18 April 1604. Described as 'an olde fellowe of forty yeares havinge a reddishe bearde, a longe nose and longe visage, and did weare a canvas dublett and breeches pinked'.

Probably the same 'Captaine Forde, a tall man with much heare of his head and face colour redd', who was with Jennings in the following year and who was indicted as Thomas Ford, a Plymouth gentleman, for piracy against Our Lady of the Conception off the Isles of Bayonne (December 1605).

c. 1609, Captain Ford was Easton's lieutenant on the Irish coast and it was reported that he 'looks to bee made Captaine of the next shipp.' Referred to again in 1613 as an old hand at piracy who surrendered with Easton at Villefranche.

May soon have left Savoy, for Thomas Ford, a Ratcliffe mariner, was involved in the piracy on the Thomas of Ipswich at Limehouse on 4 December 1613.

1614, one Ford was made captain of the Angel Gabriel of Hamburg, captured by Walsingham and his consorts in Spanish waters on 27 October. If this was Thomas Ford, he must soon have returned to England, for in 1615 he stood trial for the piracy on the Thomas and for another piracy on the Elephant of Flushing, plundered at Leigh on 3 January 1615. He was acquitted of piracy against the Elephant, but convicted for spoiling the Thomas. Was almost certainly hanged, for a precept for his execution has survived dated 16 May 1615.

/H.C.A. 1/5/28, 80; 1/6/149-50, 183; 1/46/125, 238: 23 April 1604, 17 January 1605; 1/47/105; 1/48/21, 28: 7, 18 January 1615; 13/98/62: 14 June 1613. B.M. Cott. MS. Otho E VIII, f. 355./

FRANCKE, Thomas (flor. 1606-14)

1606, mentioned as bosun of Adyn's ship the Golden Phoenix. Not heard of again until 1609 when he was established as a prominent captain amongst the English pirates who frequented Morocco and Ireland. In one report was said to be near Madeira with three prizes.

1610, was 'Rear-admiral' to Bishop in a 200-ton flyboat, twenty guns, 100 men. Towards the end of the year his booty was stolen by Dutch rovers, who tortured him to discover where his treasure was hidden. Avenged himself soon afterwards when he defeated the Dutch after a fierce battle at Mamora, with the help of four other English pirate captains.

1611, took many prizes in the Atlantic. Sent Arthur to sea from Ireland. Was given the Fortune of Serdam by Stephenson (June) and was soon able to repay this gift with the Flying Cow. Special mention was made of his piracies in a remonstrance drawn up by the French concerning spoils on vessels trading to La Rochelle in 1610-11, in which Francke was said to have plundered five ships.

His activities were characterised by a marked sympathy towards English shipping. Although he intercepted several English ships, he allowed them to proceed unharmed and sometimes even helped them on their way.

Was one of the few captains at Mamora who refused James' offer of a pardon. Joined Easton off Ushant soon after the capture of the Concord, but did not accompany him to Newfoundland. Sailed into Villefranche with Easton in 1613 and had gravitated to Leghorn by the following year. Went to sea as captain of the Geranium in the service of the duke of Florence. Was never indicted.

/H.C.A. 1/46/285: 22 September 1606; 1/47/21-2, 45, 78, 85, 93, 105, 116, 161-3, 177, 224, 234, 250-1, 284, 307-8: 22 June, 6 November 1609, 27 January, 21 February, 31 March, 3 May 1610, 19 January, 13, 15 February, 9 April, 24 August, 17, 19 September, 15 November 1611, 12 May, 11 August 1612; 1/48/48: 15 June 1615; 13/40/278: 5 February 1610; 13/98/62, 78, 83: 14 June, 3, 23 July 1613. S.P. 14/65/16, 14/71/43, 78/60/281. B.M. Cott. MS Otho E VIII, f. 355. C.S.P.Ir. 1611-14, p.89./

FRY, Simon (flor. 1615)

As captain of a St. Malo vessel, captured by Mainwaring, took provisions from the Marigold of Bristol near Tenerife in December 1615.

Probably the same Captain Fry who, in command of a ship of 140 tons, thirty-six guns, manned by eighty men who had fled from Tunis, encountered the adventurer John Smith outward-bound for Virginia in 1615.

/H.C.A. 1/48/81-2: 9 April 1616. Capt. John Smith, Works 1608-1631, ed. Arber, pp. 221-2, 734-5./

FURBUSH (flor. 1622)

His ship was stayed in the Thames because the French ambassador had information that he intended to help the people of La Rochelle against the king of France. However, he was allowed to sail c. July 1622 and soon after was reported to have taken a French prize, which he subsequently gave to a pirate named Brown.

/A.P.C. 1621-3, pp. 283, 288, 334./

GALLOPPE, Thomas (flor. 1605-12)

London, gentleman, aged forty-three in 1612. Never indicted. Galloppe was the name given to a pirate captain by Dabone, in one of his plays.

In 1605 Galloppe was leader of a desperate band of pirates who scoured the Thames looking for a likely ship and finally captured the Elizabeth of Dieppe below Gravesend. Described as 'a taule comelye mann havinge a browne bearde.'

1607, well-known as a pirate and reported in the company of a large band of rovers at Helford.

Serving under Simon Danser at Algiers in 1609, but was at Mamora in 1611 and gave Middleton £60 for a pardon. Surrendered at Weymouth (1611 or 1612) in the Hunter of Rotterdam, a sixty-ton pink, while Ralph Dee, his second-in-command, surrendered at Dungarvan in a French bark.

/H.C.A. 1/46/184-6, 191-2: 12, 18 May, 21 June 1605; 1/47/76-7, 284: 18 January 1609, 12 May 1612; 13/42/81: 24 September 1612; 13/97/74: 14 November 1607; 13/98/12-13, 82, 130: 19 December 1612, 23 July, 28 October 1613; 14/42/34, 70./

GAY, Arthur (flor. 1609-12)

Captured with Captain Sammes at Berehaven by Lord O'Sullivan, but released. A gentleman named Gay was sailing with Stephenson in 1609 and was captain of a 200-ton ship in Easton's squadron in 1611.

Accepted James' pardon at Mamora and sold tobacco to Middleton. Returned to England with Middleton and surrendered at Plymouth in the Francis, alias the Recovery, of St. Gilles.

/H.C.A. 1/47/82, 85: 29 January, (?) February 1610; 13/42/157: 22 May 1613; 13/98/23, 77, 82, 151; 27 January, 3, 23 July, 16 December 1613; 14/42/72. S.P. 14/65/16./

GIFFORD, Henry (flor. 1604-5) See above, p.61 n.1.

GIFFORD, Richard (flor. 1602-12?)

Notorious for his attack on the gallies at Algiers, which brought Turkish reprisals against the English in North Africa. Was outlawed from England and became resident in Tuscany.

Probably the same person as the Richard Gifford who captured French vessels between May 1602 and February 1603, bringing his prizes to Tunis.

He may also be identified with Richard Gifford, London, gentleman, owner and captain of the Bounty of London, 300 tons, who was granted a commission to capture pirates (30 May 1611). In July 1612 the Bounty was reported to have been plundered by Dutch men-of-war as she was leaving the Straits.

/Supra, pp. 54-7. H.C.A. 14/42/197. S.P. 84/68/295. C.S.P. Ven. 1603-7, p. 31./

GILES (flor. 1614)

One of Mainwaring's captains at Mamora.

/H.C.A. 13/98/211: 9 August 1614./

GLANFIELD or GLANVILLE, Toby (flor. 1603-13)

Owner and captain of the Blessing, which plundered a French ship towards the end of Elizabeth's reign.

Indicted for piracy as a gentleman of Tavistock, but lived near Plymouth where he had 'married Mr. Waddom's daughter.' A man of good estate who found himself in financial difficulties. Had friends who were prepared to cover his debts, since he was 'not suspected to have overshott him self, and to have spente his patrimony.' Nevertheless, in 1605 he sent provisions to Captain Muckill, who was then at Plymouth, and went with him to follow the life of a pirate since 'he could not live at land.'

Sailed to Sally, joined Ward and followed him to Tunis (1605). May briefly have returned to England, for in mid-1606 a Captain Glanfield, Plymouth, mariner, was master's mate in Fage's pirate ship.

1607, was with Ward at the capture of the Soderina and was indicted with him for another piracy on a Venetian vessel near Cyprus (15 June). In 1608 he was named as one of the leading pirates at Tunis and Stowe placed him among the most famous English pirates.

In 1613 he was captured at Sally whilst serving on board an Algerine pirate ship captained by Ambrose Sayer, and was sent to England in the Golden Lion to stand trial. Knowing that his crimes were unpardonable, he tried to commit suicide several times and eventually succeeded, by throwing himself off the stern of the ship.

/H.C.A. 1/5/110, 184; 1/46/265: 19 July 1606; 1/47/65, 70: 13-14 December 1609; 13/97/137, 155-6, 278-9: 23 March, 9 May 1608, 24 February 1609; 13/98/65-6: 18 June 1613. S.P. 78/50/179. John Stow, Annales or A Generall Chronicle of England, ed. Edmund Howes, 1631, p. 893. C.S.P. Ir. 1608-10, p.279./

GRAVES, William (flor. 1605-9).

Was indicted as a mariner of St. Catherine's, but was also described as a Dartmouth man. In 1609 he was named as one of the leading pirates at Tunis.

He accompanied Muckill in the attack on the Jonas at Cowes in January 1605, for which he was indicted. Became master's mate to Muckill and sailed to Morocco.

1606-7, was master's mate to Ward and was present at the capture of the John Baptist and the Soderina. One of Ward's most loyal men, it was Graves who took prisoner the pamphleteer Andrew Barker.

By 1609 he had become joint master of a vessel owned by Cara Osman, head of the janissaries at Tunis. Was captured by the French, and taken to Marseilles, where he was probably executed.

/H.C.A. 1/5/67; 1/46/196: 29 June 1605; 1/47/65, 70: 13, 14 December 1609; 13/97/140, 146, 154: 25 March, 20 April, 9 May 1608. Barker, A True Report, pp. 22, 26. C.S.P. Ir. 1608-10, p. 279./

GUNTER, Mathew (flor. 1613-25)

A pirate executed at Cork in 1625, who was said to have been in and out of prison nineteen times on charges of piracy.

Mathew Gunter, a gentleman of Southwark, was indicted with Lambert for the piracy on the Bennet of Bristol off Milford Haven on 10 May 1613. Soon after this he made off in the Elizabeth, alias the Providence, with some of Lambert's loot, and by 26 June he had arrived at Broad Haven in Ireland, where he offered to hand over his ship and £500 in return for a pardon. He was given a thirty-day protection by a justice of Connaught, which was extended for six weeks by the lord deputy. It seems likely that Gunter was pardoned on this occasion, although nothing is known of his other brushes with the law.

/Supra, p. 212. H.C.A. 1/6/118. Analecta Hibernica, pp. 110-112./

HAGGERSTON, James (flor. 1615-19)

Committed depredations in the Thames and the Atlantic.

/Supra, pp. 184-5./

HALL, Henry (flor. 1609?-1614)

November 1613, Henry Hall, captain of the Jacob, captured the Phoenix near Larache and took her cargo of cloth and wax and £200 in cash. Soon after he is named among Mainwaring's captains at Mamora in command of an eighty-ton Frenchman.

A London mariner of the same name was in custody in December 1609 suspected of committing piracy in the previous year. Although indicted, he does not appear to have stood trial.

/H.C.A. 1/6/13; 1/47/72-3: 27 December 1609; 13/98/182, 211, 234: 26 April, 9 August, 8 October 1614./

HAMDEN, Sir John (flor. 1613)

One of the king's pensioners. Captured by the Spanish in 1613 in Finche pirate ship.

/H.M.C. Downshire, IV, 217./

HARPER, John (flor. 1603)

1602, sailed from Dartmouth in the Jane, as lieutenant to Captain Christopher Holland on a voyage of plunder into the Mediterranean. After Holland had been imprisoned at Modone, his crew fled to Susa in a flyboat and Harper was appointed captain. On 13 August 1603, between Sicily and Malta, Harper captured the St. Paul of Toulon which was bringing the wardrobe of the Venetian ambassador to England. Having handed over his flyboat and much of his booty to Edward Fall, whom he had met off the Cornish coast, Harper landed near Dartmouth.

He was indicted for piracy as a gentleman of Dartmouth, but on 8 November 1604 he was examined in the Admiralty court as a gentleman of Hennel Walk in the Forest of Barking, where he probably lived. For some reason he does not appear to have stood trial.

/H.C.A. 1/5/26; 1/46/119-23, 125-7, 153-4, 162: 25 April, 8 November 1604, 9 February 1605./

HARRIS, James (flor. 1605-9)

Bristol, gentleman, aged twenty-nine in 1609.

First went to sea in 1605 with Adams, a Dutch rover. Captured by the Turks and enslaved at Tunis until he and two other men were redeemed by Bishop for 2,500 crowns. Left Tunis with Bishop in 1607, leaving four comrades behind as security. Roamed the Atlantic with Bishop and became captain of a small pink.

1608, was in possession of a Flemish prize laden with pipe-staves and copper and was with Bishop at the capture of the James off Gibraltar. Took a St. Thome man and carried her to Mogador or Safi where her cargo of sugar was sold.

Intended to return to Tunis to redeem his comrades, but was driven to Ireland by bad weather. Raised a crew at Baltimore, and in a three-week voyage in May 1609, he and Bishop plundered the Margaret of Morbihan off Finisterre and the Mary of St. Malo off Ushant. Returned to Ireland with his booty but was captured by a king's ship commanded by Sir William St. John.

Was sent to England and examined by the earl of Northampton, who recommended he be pardoned. Was condemned to death, 19 December 1609. The king granted a stay of execution, but Harris was reported to have been hanged shortly afterwards.

/H.C.A. 1/6/7-8, 17, 46; 1/47/29, 32, 61-2, 67: 28 July, 17 August, 8, 12 December 1609; 1/60/46; 13/40/80: 26 January 1609; 13/97/271: 21 January 1609. See also the excuses made by members of Harris' crew who joined him in Ireland, H.C.A. 1/47/33-9, 67-9: 18, 19, 21 August, 12 December 1609. Supra, pp. 73. B.M. Cott. MS Otho E VIII, ff. 367-9, 372-3./

HARRIS, John See BROWN, George

HARRISON (flor. 1614)

Captain of a pirate ship, and Walsingham's 'vice-admiral' at the attack on the Angel Gabriel.

/H.C.A. 1/48/21: 7 January 1615./

HARVELL, William (flor. 1609)

Plymouth man.

c. 1609, captain of a Dutch ship, 100 tons, sixteen guns, in Bishop's fleet in Ireland. Also reported as captain of a vessel belonging to some Plymouth merchants which had been captured in Newfoundland. (This sounds suspiciously like Philip Harvey, although the two men are separately referred to in the same list.)

/H.C.A. 1/47/78, 105: 27 January 1610. B.M. Cott. MS. Otho E VIII, f. 355./

HARVEY, Philip (flor. 1607?-10)

Plymouth, mariner.

A man of this name first appears in 1606-7 serving under Exton in the voyage of the Green Dragon.

1608-9, sailed to the West Indies and Newfoundland with Saxbridge in search of plunder, but after Saxbridge was slain, he and some others got a passage home from Newfoundland in the Mayflower, which was owned by some Plymouth merchants. He and his followers left the Mayflower at Conquet in Brittany, and seized the Son of Flushing. (It is interesting to speculate that the ship used by the Pilgrim Fathers eleven years later may also have been used by a band of pirates.) Harvey then sailed to Cape Verde but took no prizes. He arrived at Leamcon in a sorry plight and surrendered to Sir William St. John, butwas too ill to be sent to England for trial. In 1610 he was reported to have died in Ireland.

/H.C.A. 1/6/31; 1/47/93, 97-9, 117-8: 27 March, 12, 17 April, 4 May 1610; 13/97/45: 15 August 1607./

HARVEY, William (flor. 1602?-12)

A prominent pirate captain in the Atlantic between 1609 and 1612. A frequent visitor to the Munster coast, he built a house on Sir William Hull's land.

1611-12, was captain of a small pink at the capture of the Concord. Sailed with Easton to Guinea and Newfoundland and was referred to as his 'vice-admiral'. Captain of successive prizes: the Valentia (taken at Santa Cruz, August 1611), the Lion Dore, the Elizabeth, an Irish vessel and the Margaret of Washford. Returned to England in the Margaret after a disagreement with Easton and sold his booty in Ireland and at the Isle of Wight. Received his pardon from Middleton in Ireland.

It may be the same William Harvey, a gentleman of Bilston Brooke, Staffordshire, aged forty in 1604, who was indicted as captain of the Benjamin of Stonehouse for piracy against the Lewes Bonaventure off Cape de Gata in October 1602. This man was in custody by August 1604, and refused to plead at his trial in February 1605. He was sentenced to suffer peine fort et dure, but reached a composition with the French ambassador and by July had been released.

/H.C.A. 1/5/21,102; 1/46/182; 1/47/78, 105, 158, 246, 251, 253, 317-8: 27 January, 15 December 1610, 2, 15, 25 November 1611, 24 October 1612; 1/48/52: 22 July 1615; 1/60/8; 13/37/88: 3 August 1604; 13/98/6, 10-14, 58, 60; 10, 12, 19 December 1612, 14 June 1613. S.P. 14/65/16, 14/71/43. B.M. Cott. MS. Otho E VII, f. 355, Add MS 5664, ff. 356, 423. H.M.C. Salisbury XVII. 295. C.S.P. Ir. 1611-14, p.89./

HATHERLEY, Alexander (flor. 1610-11)

1610, was given command of a French bark by John Rose, Sockwell's lieutenant, and subsequently captured a Portuguese vessel laden with sugar which he brought into Santa Cruz. Returned to England in the Emmanuel of London, bringing some chests of sugar from his prize.

Confessed on his death-bed that, urged on by the Spanish ambassador, he had lied to save his life by wrongly accusing Rudolph Crues, merchant of the Emmanuel, of buying sugar from him. Died in the Marshalsea Prison, 1611.

/H.C.A. 1/47/182: 22 April 1611; 13/41/166-7, 169-70, 271: 14, 18 March, 7 November 1611./

HAYTON, John (flor. 1604)

Captain of a band of pirates captured at Lisbon.

/B.M. Lansd. MS. 139, f.18./

HEATH, William (flor. 1612-15)

Rochester, mariner.

One of Easton's captains in Newfoundland in 1612. Sailed into Villefranche in the Jacob and was used by Easton as an emissary to the duke of Savoy. Probably employed by the duke for about a year before returning to England, where he soon became involved in piracy again. Was indicted for spoiling a ketch of Rainham near Sheerness in September 1615, but apparently never arraigned.

/H.C.A. 1/6/171; 13/98/6, 60, 174: 10 December 1612, 14 June 1613, 3 March 1614. S.P. 92/1/92./

HELYE, William (flor. 1603)

London, gentleman.

Leader of a band of pirates which plundered the Elizabeth, alias the Isabel of Bordeaux, in November 1603. The indictment for this crime is a copy sent to the High Court of Admiralty from Cornwall, which suggests that Helye may have been tried there.

/H.C.A. 1/5/46./

HERIOT, George or James (flor. 1623-4)

Was probably born in Scotland, but had allies amongst the coastal population of Devon and Dorset.

August 1623, sailed out of Plymouth with his kinsmen Sir Arnold Douglas and Captain Furbisher in a Dutch vessel, 120 tons, with Dutch letters of marque. Took a Spanish prize from a Dutch privateer but some of his men deserted in his man-of-war. Brought his prize to Portland and tried to exchange her for a 200-ton Danzig ship. Finally seized the Danzig vessel and was later arrested in Ireland. Was released in December 1623, because no charges were preferred against him. He subsequently plundered the Orange Tree of Holland off the west coast (July 1624) before sailing to Portland, where he made a composition to secure his freedom (26 August). However, by June 1625 he had been executed.

/H.C.A. 1/49/136-7: 9 May 1625. S.P. 14/151/21. B.M. Harl. MS. 1581, f. 308. C.S.P. Dom. 1623-5, passim. A.P.C. 1623-5, pp. 160, 321; A.P.C. 1625-6, p.93./

HILLS (flor. 1611)

Plymouth man. Captain of a pirate ship which was engaged by three Spanish warships. Fired his vessel and he and most of the crew of forty-five perished.

The name Hills is such a common one amongst pirates at this time that it is impossible to trace this man's career with any certainty.

/S.P. 94/18/126./

HOLCOMB, /Edward?/ (flor. 1603?-12)

1609, a pirate captain named Holcomb was in Ireland with a French prize laden with sugar, and soon afterwards Richard Holcomb, pirate, was reported to be in Ireland trying to persuade other rovers to surrender. In 1612 a man named Holcomb sailed to Newfoundland with Easton and became captain of the White Swan of Amsterdam. He deserted Easton and came into Dartmouth with the White Swan late in 1612. He was presumably pardoned.

The career of this man may have begun in 1603, when Edward Holcomb or Hawcamb, Plymouth, mariner, was in a band of about sixty pirates which surprised the Hopewell in Plymouth Sound at night. They sailed to Brittany and plundered the Mary of Abrildud in October, for which crime Holcomb was indicted.

/H.C.A. 1/5/10; 1/46/96: 6 March 1604; 1/47/90, 99, 250: 27 March, 17 April 1610, 15 November 1611; 13/42/110: 17 November 1612; 13/98/6,60, 64: 10 December 1612, 14-15 June 1613. B.M. Cott. MS. Otho E VIII, f. 355./

HUGHS, William (flor. 1611-12)

London, gentleman, aged thirty-four in 1612, who was never indicted.

Early 1611, he bought a quarter-share in the Black Raven of Hoorn from Captain Parker, who had captured her in 1609. Hussy held the major share in the ship, and when he died he left his share to Hughs, who had served as his lieutenant.

In March 1611, Hughs, in a 250-ton Flemish ship mounting twenty-eight canon and six fowling pieces, (probably the Black Raven), intercepted the William and Ralph of London. He released her, but his crew forced him to retake her because she was rumoured to be carrying sacks of money. When this proved false, the William and Ralph was once again allowed to proceed. It appears that Hughs never meant any harm to English shipping.

As captain of a 160-ton Flemish ship, sixteen guns, he was present at the capture of the Concord. He then sailed to Morocco and sold part of his loot to the Moors at Santa Cruz.

Reported to be weary of piracy, he accepted James' pardon at Mamora and was willing to restore English merchandise, although his crew made him sell it for £100. He handed over sasparella, tobacco and sugar worth more than £200 to Middleton.

Sailed to Leamcon and negotiated the details of his pardon before returning to England. In May 1612, his ship the Black Raven, laden with olives and ivory, and mounting nineteen iron and three brass pieces, was at anchor in the Thames. On 7 June the Council ordered that the ship and goods be valued and that Hughs and his men should each receive their true shares.

May possibly be the Captain Hughs who, in 1614, urged the captain of the royal pinnace Primrose to intercept the Charity and steal four pieces of kersey.

/H.C.A. 1/47/183-5, 231, 233-4, 284, 288, 305-6, 308: 26 April, 30 August, 11 September 1611, 12 May, 3 June, 9, 11 August 1612; 13/98/22-4, 58, 82-3, 204-5: 27 January, 14 June, 23 July 1613, 2 July 1614; 30/858, bundle E, 1612-20. S.P. 14/65/16, 14/71/43. B.M. Cott. MS Otho E VIII, f. 378. C.S.P.Ir. 1611-14, p.89./

HULL, William (flor. 1602)

A gentleman from Exeter, aged thirty-seven in 1609. His father was mayor of Exeter in 1605.

Became captain of the Talbot or Dolphin of Topsham, and was a consort of Philip Ward at the capture of a French ship near Sardinia in 1602. Returned to Topsham and was allowed to go free by Sir Richard Hawkins. Was indicted for piracy, but due to his father's intervention, Sir Julius Caesar decided not to try him.

He gave evidence on behalf of Sir Richard Hawkins in 1609, when the latter's conduct as vice-admiral of Devon was called in question. At this time he stated that he had a document signed by Philip Ward absolving him from all blame for the capture of the French ship and that he and Ward had since become 'mortall enemies'.

/H.C.A. 1/5/11; 1/47/24-6: 14 July 1609. B.M. Cott. MS. Otho E VIII, f. 4, Add MS. 5664, f. 434. See also under WARD, Philip./

HUSSY, Thomas (flor. 1605-11)

Fowey man. Never indicted.

1605, was with Muckill at the capture of the Jonas and sailed to Barbary with him. Next heard of at Tunis as bosun in one of Cara Osman's ships.

1609, was captain of a ship which was wrecked in the harbour of Algiers. Sailed to Mamora in a small vessel.

In the second half of 1610, he was marauding off the Atlantic coast of Spain, in command of a crew of English, Dutch, Scots and Moors.

Reported in Stephenson's man-of-war in Ireland, he was said to be looking for a ship of his own. Soon afterwards, purchased a three-quarter share in the Black Raven of Hoorn, 200 tons, twenty-eight guns.

He was wounded in the arm in a battle against the Dutch rovers at Mamora. He died in his cabin, surrounded by the other pirate captains, early in 1611.

/Supra, p. 116. H.C.A. 1/47/105, 136, 155-6, 177-8, 205, 305: 22 July, 23 November 1610, 9 April, 21 June 1611, 9 August 1612; 13/42/4: 4 January 1612; 13/97/146: 12 March 1608. B.M. Cott. MS. Otho E VIII, f. 355. Barker, A True Report p.22. /

HUTCHINSON, Mathew (flor. 1610)

Ashby-de-la-Zouch (written Ashby Dallison), Leicestershire, soldier. Indicted as a Southwark joiner.

Boarded Webb's ship the Patience, alias the Blue Man of War, at Malaga. Sailed to Mamora, whence he went to sea as Webb's lieutenant (August 1610). After this voyage he was sent to sea by Webb as captain of the Blue Man of War and captured a Portuguese carvel (14 September).

He returned to England with Webb, landing near Southampton. Was arrested, tried and acquitted - not apparently through lack of evidence.

/H.C.A. 1/6/72, 90-2; 1/47/165-6, 178, 237: 20 February, 10 April, 16 October 1611./

ISAAC, Roger (flor. 1606-8)

Plymouth, gentleman.

Sailed from Schiedam (May 1606) in the Hound, a sixty-ton flyboat, captained by Robert Sky, in which he had a part-share. Having crossed the channel and put in at Dungerness, the Isle of Wight and Portland, the pirates sailed to Torbay, where they seized a 'tallowinge' ship. They plundered two Biscaynan vessels off Ushant and returned to Portland, where they were entertained by Sebastian Pilfold, keeper of Portland Castle, and by Alexander, Lord Bindon's secretary, who kept open house for them at Weymouth. By August Isaac had been given his own command.

He made a further voyage from Holland as captain of the Dophin of Flushing with letters of marque, and captured a Portuguese carvel with a cargo of wood and sugar, bringing her to Rotterdam.

December 1606, was captain of the Greyhound of Baltimore, sixty tons. Plundered the Robert of Dundee off the Scillies and sold her cargo of bays and says in Salcombe. Was indicted for this piracy but never arraigned.

March 1607, was at Helford in the company of Jennings and other pirates, where he chased a Bordeaux bark laden with wheat into the harbour. Went ashore 'to justify him selfe', but was arrested with some other pirates at Cockerham's house by Hannibal Vivian, vice-admiral of Cornwall. Was released by Vivian and 'wente a huntinge with the sherriff and lay at his house'.

1607, was reported to be at Baltimore in the Bear. He also frequented Kinsale and was in league with Sir Ralph Bingley, with whom he sailed to the Spanish coast. They took two or three prizes, which they sent back to Kinsale.

c. May 1608, Isaac was serving as a soldier at Safi with a band of Christian mercenaries commanded by John Gifford, whichwasfighting for Muley Sidan in the Moroccan civil war. He was probably killed in battle with the other English mercenaries.

/H.C.A. 1/5/164; 1/46/289-90, 334-7, 7 October 1606, 22, 29 April 1607; 13/97/15, 55, 74-7, 112-4, 240: 31 May, 2 October, 14 November 1607, 3 February, 5 November 1608. B.M. Cott. MS. Otho E VIII, f. 363. De Castries, Sources inédites, Archives d'Angleterre, II. 374-5./

JENKINS, Samuel (flor. 1616-18)

London, mariner.

/Supra, pp. 183-4./

JENNINGS, John (flor. 1604-10)

Mariner, born at Portsmouth.

c. 1603, took his family to live in Flushing. August 1604, sailed as captain of the Pied Lion of Flushing with Dutch letters of marque. He captured two Portuguese carvels off the Spanish coast, but was then forced into Saltash by bad weather and was arrested. He was examined in the admiralty court (May 1605) and although indicted for piracy on one of the Portuguese vessels, he was acquitted.

Resumed 'privateering' under the Dutch flag. Joined the Vineyard at Plymouth under the command of Adrian Robell, an Antwerp merchant, known as Captain Adrian. In the boarding-party which captured Our Lady of the Conception off the Isles of Bayonne (14 December 1605), it was reported that 'one Jeninges, a tall younge man without a beard was the cheife and one of the first that came aborde.' He was given command of this prize, but was captured off the English coast by a London merchantman, master John Bigott, and brought into the Downs.

In January 1606, he was examined in the admiralty yet again, this time being accused of piracy against Our Lady. He was sentenced to death, but received a pardon, perhaps because of the influence of Sir Noel de Caron, Dutch ambassador in England, who had a share in the Vineyard.

He returned to piracy yet again, serving with Captain Hendriks and Moy Jaques in ships operating under Dutch letters of marque.

During 1606-7 the sequence of events is not clear. He later testified that after six months' imprisonment at Sally, he had returned to England and had made his way to Ireland, where Captain Robinson had given him a French ship (the St. Anne of Roscoff). It is known that in March 1607 he was taken prisoner at Helford by Hannibal Vivian, but was released on payment of a ransom. At about this time the French accused him of piracy on a ship of Le Havre at Safi and of taking a vessel of Olonne, which was brought into Helford. They may well have been referring to a ship which Jennings ran aground at Helford in June 1607 when he was being chased by a Dutch warship.

By 1608, Jennings had emerged as one of the leading pirates in the North Atlantic. He was indicted for spoiling a French vessel in February and during the second half of the year he was a regular consort of Bishop and Roope and made constant use of the harbours of Ireland and Morocco. In one report he is mentioned as being 'by the Alcade of Sallye's tente talkeinge with the Alcade.' In the last months of 1608 he committed piracies against the St. John Evangelist of Hamburg, the Bishop of Bremen, and a French vessel, and was indicted for them. Besides these prizes, he also took the White Swan of Norway, 280 tons, off the Scillies (21 August), and was a consort of Bishop's at the capture of the Almanac.

Always leinent towards British shipping, Jennings restored English goods captured in the Almanac, and was reported to have given battle to a Dutch ship which had robbed English vessels trading to Spain. His strength and wealth were such that, acting in concert with Bishop, he was able to defy the king's pinnace in Ireland, and on several other occasions succeeded in bribing her commander, Captain Williamson.

In 1608 Jennings was reported to have said that he had no faith in a royal pardon, for 'they might be hanged with their pardons about their necks.' He was also critical of James' peace with Spain and vowed that 'he would not wear the King's colours any longer, but the young Prince's colours and honour him, hoping he in time would have wars.'

Nevertheless, he apparently soon tired of piracy. Late in 1608 he was at Erris, County Mayo, with a Dutch prize, but his men were exhausted and mutinous after a fierce battle with a French ship. In January 1609 he was in the Shannon with his prize and reported to have 'daily discontented all the towns with overlookers, and impeached even their ordinary trade'. He was, however, earnestly seeking a pardon, and wrote to the earls of Claurickard and Thomond asking them to act as his mediators, and also offered to help James against the pirates, 'or to sincke at their sides.' According to Jennings, Thomond tried to send him to sea, but he refused to rob for others and threw himself on James' mercy.

His booty, most of which was stored at Limerick, was considerable. In his 300-ton ship, which was only four years old, there were 150 chests of sugar, thirty-six cases of cinnamon and twelve packs of pepper, while his personal chest contained pearls, diamonds and Spanish silver. He also had a waistband quilted with Barbary gold worth £4-500, forty pounds in doubloons and clusters of diamonds and rubies. All this was besides booty worth £2,000, which had been carried to Thomond's house, and other goods which had been left at Leamcon.

Jennings was sent to Dublin and thence to London, where he was examined in the admiralty court once again (July 1609). His penitent confession so impressed Chichester and Northampton that they recommended leniency. He was, however, condemned to death, although his frankness may have gained him a brief reprieve. By 3 January 1610 he had been executed at Wapping.

/H.C.A. 1/5/68,80,99,203; 1/6/3-5, 17; 1/46/184, 187-8, 223-4, 234-9, 256: 11, 28 May, 10 December 1605, 11, 17, 20 January, 18 June 1606; 1/47/17-18, 27-9, 39-40, 64, 66, 71-2, 74, 99, 116, 251: 14 June, 21 July, 22 August, 13, 16 December 1609, 3 January, 17 April , 3 May 1610, 15 November 1611; 1/60/15, 45-6; 13/97/74-6, 141-2, 202, 208-9, 274, 280-1: 14 November 1607, 31 March, 19, 22 September 1608, 25 January, 26 February 1609. S.P. 89/3/101-2. B.M. Cott. MS. Otho E VIII, ff. 360-4. H.M.C. Salisbury, XIX, 151, XX. 13-14, 236. C.S.P. Dom. 1603-10, p.568. C.S.P. Ir. 1608-10, passim./

JOHNSON, Anthony (flor. 1605-8)

St. Catherine's, mariner.

Accompanied Muckill in a night attack on the Jonas at Cowes, January 1605. Sailed to Morocco. Was captain of Ward's pinnace at the capture of the John Baptist (1 November 1606), and was in Ward's crew at the spoil of a Venetian vessel near Cyprus (15 June 1607).

Sent money and presents back to his wife, mother and sister in England. Wished to return home and wrote to the owners of the John Baptist offering to compound his crime and begging them not to take criminal proceedings against him in England.

Remained at Tunis as a hostage for voyages made by Ward and Bishop. Not heard of again after Bishop failed to redeem him.

/H.C.A. 1/5/67, 184, 207; 1/46/196, 200: 29 June, 6 July 1605; 1/47/32; 17 August 1609; 13/39/147-8: 23 March 1608; 13/97/14, 104, 145-6, 154, 256: 30 May, 27 December 1607, 20 April, 9 May 16 December 1608./

JOHNSON, John (flor. 1612-16?)

Redruth, Surrey, mariner. It was reported that 'the first time that Johnson had a purpose to goe a pirateinge was in the Downes.'

1612, arrested at Tenby on suspicion of piracy but was released. Sailed to the North Sea and plundered several vessels. Was indicted but never arraigned.

1614, a Ratcliffe mariner of the same name, serving aboard the Centaur of London, was leader of the boarding-party that captured the Hope. He was indicted and examined in the admiralty court, but does not appear to have stood trial.

1615, another Ratcliffe seaman bearing the same name was indicted for piracy on a Portuguese vessel near Brazil.

In the following year a John Johnson is mentioned as one of a band of pirates which met in Stepney Fields to try their luck on the Thames.

/Supra, p. 200. H.C.A. 1/6/143, 173; 1/47/308: 12 August 1612; 1/48/97: 30 May 1616; 13/98/235-6: 8 October 1614./

JOLLIFFE, Edward (flor. 1609-15)

Portsmouth, mariner.

1609, Captain Jolliffe, a pirate, was living openly in Ireland at Leamcon, where he was employed to persuade his old shipmates to surrender.

In the last months of 1613, he was scouring the Atlantic coast of Spain from the English pirate-base at Mamora. 30 September, in command of a 300-ton Flemish ship and a sixty-ton French ship, he plundered the Elizabeth of London off Cape Finisterre. In the following month, he was marauding on the Moroccan coast in the Angel, a Dutch flyboat laden with deal and clapboards, and on 23 December,

still in the Angel, he attacked and sank the Exchange of York near Cape Pitcher. In examinations taken in the admiralty in 1614, he is mentioned as a captain at Mamora with a 160-ton Flemish ship and a prize laden with corn.

In the summer of 1614, he left Mamora for the North Cape, to intercept ships trading to Russia. On returning to Mamora, he found the harbour controlled by Spaniards. After his ship ran aground there (September), he managed to escape and fled to Sally with about thirty men, where he bought a small fishing boat from the Moors. Then, in one day, on 22 September, off the Portuguese coast, he captured the Unicorn of Rotterdam, forty-tons, which he used to take a Portuguese carvel. Sailed to the Isle of Wight, where he robbed a French vessel of wine and raisins. He was attacked by a Dutch warship, and escaped by threatening to blow his ship up, only to run aground near Chichester. Was captured and indicted for three piracies. Hanged at Wapping, 6 April 1615.

/H.C.A. 1/6/146-8; 1/47/78, 92: 27 January, 27 March 1610; 1/48/16-18, 33: 14, 15 December 1614, 28 March 1615; 13/98/149, 180, 190, 211; 16 December 1613, 20 April, 23 May, 9 August 1614. B.M. Cott. MS Otho E VIII, f. 355./

KELLY alias KELLOWAY /Thomas?/ (flor. 1606?-17)

In 1609, Captain Kelly, in a carvel manned by sixty men, robbed some English merchants off Gibraltar. By 1611, Captain Kelly, alias Kelloway, was reported to be one of the leading pirates at Mamora.

In 1614, Kelly was captain of a Flemish ship twenty-three guns, which intercepted a bark of Shoreham and the Susan of London (August). He was also in company with Walsingham at several spoils later that year, including the capture of the Anne Gabriel (27 October). One report gives Kelly's christian name as Thomas.

He probably drifted to Algiers after the fall of Mamora and became captain of an Algerine vessel manned by Turks. He joined Walsingham and other English pirate captains in further piracies, notably the capture of the Susan Constance (28 June 1615).

He must have remained in Turkish employ, for he was captain of a 300-ton ship, twenty-five guns, 250 men, which, together with Walsingham and Sampson's men-of-war, attacked the Dolphin of London off Sardinia in January 1617.

This man may be identified with Hercules Kelloway, Fowey, mariner, the son of John Kelloway of Lansallowes (?) Cornwall, who left Fowey in 1606 in a Dutch privateer, and committed piracy on two French ships off Gibraltar.

/H.C.A. 1/6/9; 1/47/52, 187, 195, 217, 219: 13 November 1609, 4 May, 3 June, 18, 31 July 1611; 1/48/21, 35, 64, 67: 7 January, 31 March, 14 December 1615, 29 January 1616. Lediard, Naval History of England 1066-1734, II. 440-3./

KNIGHTLY (flor. 1614)

Captain of the Ambition at Mamora and referred to as Mainwaring's 'vice-admiral'. Nothing more known.

/H.C.A. 13/98/190, 199, 211: 23 May, 28 June, 9 August 1614./

LAMBERT, John (flor. 1608?-13)

1608, a Mr. Lambert was master of James Harris' pirate ship.

This was perhaps the John Lambert, Plymouth, sailor, who sailed to Newfoundland with Saxbridge, was arrested in Ireland on his return, indicted, and tried for a piracy committed in April 1608. This man was discharged, entering into a bond for his good behaviour.

1610, it was reported that Captain Lambert, a convicted pirate, had conspired with the hangman to cheat the gallows, although he later appears to have been executed.

1612, a John Lambert was marauding in Newfoundland with Easton and Harvey. He deserted them and surrendered at Plymouth in August, in the Lion Dore.

Perhaps this man soon returned to piracy, for on 10 May 1613, John Lambert, Southwark, mariner, was captain of the Come Again, twenty-five tons, manned by a well-armed band of thirty pirates, which plundered the Bennet of Bristol near Milford Haven.

Some clue may be given as to the identification of the Lambert who was hanged in 1610, for the owner of the Bennet testified that John Lambert was pursuing a personal vendetta against a man named Clayton, whom he blamed for the execution of his father, his brother and his brother-in-law. Possibly piracy ran in the Lambert family.

/H.C.A. 1/6/32, 46, 118; 1/47/132: 9 June 1610; 13/97/271: 21 January 1609; 13/98/10, 36, 53, 114-7: 12 December 1612, 23 March, 8 June, 4 October 1613. H.M.C. Downshire, II, 279, 486./

LANGDON, George (flor. 1605)

Stonehouse, Devon.

Captain of a ship with Dutch letters of marque. Captured a Spanish Brazilman laden with sugar and brought his prize to Padstow before taking her to Holland. His man-of-war was stayed at Plymouth by Sir Richard Hawkins.

/H.C.A. 1/46/202: 10 July 1605; 13/97/3: 13 May 1607./

LATIMER (flor. 1612)

Had been master of one of the king's ships.

Emigrated to Kerry with his family, but was forcibly carried to sea by Easton. Is to be found marauding in Newfoundland in 1612, but had deserted the pirates by October and was at Tralee, where he surrendered his vessel and what meagre booy he possessed. Was granted a protection by the lord deputy of Ireland and later received the king's pardon.

/Analecta Hibernica, pp. 61, 63. C.S.P. Ir. 1611-14, pp. 301, 310./

LAWRENCE (flor. 1614-15)

Dover man.

Went to sea in 1614 as captain of one of two ships sent out by the alcade of Sally. Took men and provisions from the James of Topsham off Oporto and sailed to Algiers. Took more men and provisions from the Unicorn off the Spanish coast early in 1615, but his man-of-war was reported to have been captured in Ireland by Dutch warships.

/H.C.A. 1/48/51, 64: 14 July, 14 December 1615./

LONGCASTLE, William (flor. 1603-9)

Plymouth, gentleman. Described as 'a man of evil fame and little or no substance'.

1603, was Pierce's lieutenant at the spoil of the Veniera. Returned to England and lay low for about six months at Woodley, Devon, at the home of Roger Harrel, 'in which tyme the said Longecastle wente to churche, and a huntinge and kepte company publickly with the neighbors and parishioners'. Was arrested by Sir Richard Hawkins and sent to London, but was released after giving £50 to the lord admiral for a composition. This is rather surprising since the Venetians had demanded the confiscation of his property.

Used the alias Captain Davis in his travels and may have been the Captain Davis who was with a band of pirates at Kinsale and Baltimore early in 1607.

By June 1607 Longcastle was in Tunis, for he was indicted with Ward for the capture of an unknown Venetian vessel in that month. At this time he is described as a Plymouth mariner.

He returned to England, and in 1608 went as captain of the Ulysses on a voyage to the West Indies. He became involved in piracy again when he met the Susan at Safi. He invited most of her crew aboard the Ulysses for dinner, and while they were being entertained, he led a boarding-party which captured the ship (12 July). In the indictment for this crime, for which he was convicted, Longcastle was also indicted under the alias of William Lancaster.

was
1609,/ arrested in Cornwall. Was taken to London and examined in the admiralty court (24 November). Was tried and sentenced to death (19 December) and hanged at Wapping.

/H.C.A. 1/5/22, 184; 1/6/6, 17; 1/46/74, 336: 22 July 1603, 29 April 1607; 1/47/56-7, 70, 126-8, 150: 24 November, 14 December 1609, 6 June, 10 October 1610; 1/60/46; 13/39/225: 23 June 1608; 13/40/99: 21 March 1609; 13/97/15: 31 May 1607. B.M. Cott. MS. Otho E VIII, f. 2. C.S.P. Ven. 1592-1603, pp. 559, 568./

LOWE, Mark (flor. 1607-14)

1607, Markes Lowe, a Londoner, joined Thornton's crew and gravitated to Mamora. He served with Hussy and was master's mate of Francke's ship.

By 1611 he had gone to Leghorn, where he had been granted a protection by the duke of Tuscany. In 1614 he was reported to have been captain of one of two vessels sent out from Leghorn by James Duppa to trade with the pirates at Mamora.

/H.C.A. 1/47/199, 220: 18 June, 31 July 1611; 13/97/228: 10 October 1608; 13/98/199: 28 June 1614./

LUMLEY, Henry (flor. 1609)

Captain of a pirate vessel at Leamcon.

Was employed in Munster by Humphrey Jobson to persuade other pirates to surrender. Nothing is known of any piracies committed by him, or of his fate.

/H.C.A. 1/47/90, 92: 27 March 1610. B.M. Cott. MS. Otho E VIII, f. 355./

LUX, Richard (flor. 1604)

Knighton, Devon, sailor. Resident in Bristol. Committed only one piracy under extenuating circumstances.

Left England as master and part-owner of the White Swan of Bristol, sixty tons, which was subsequently employed in trade between Leghorn and Algiers. Sold this ship at Algiers and purchased the Hopewell, a 240-ton flyboat. Left Algiers for Alexandria with a cargo of Turkish merchandise, but on arrival at Alexandria his ship was seized and the crew mistreated in revenge for Gifford's attack on the gallies at Algiers. Forced to go to sea for the Turks, Lux and his men managed to overthrow their oppressors near Rhodes (25 August 1604). For this action they were indicted in England for piracy and murder.

Lux was arrested in Devon in 1606, but apparently obtained his freedom by bribing a J.P., Sir George Smith. It is worth noting that two other members of his crew who were brought to trial were acquitted by a petty jury.

/H.C.A. 1/5/136-7, 139, 151; 1/46/228-31, 241-3, 253-4: 4, 25 January, 31 May 1606; 1/47/200: 18 June 1611; 13/38/111-2, 136: 20 October, 24 November 1606; 13/97/34-5: 6 July 1607. S.P. 71/1/15, 22. H.M.C. Salisbury, XIX. 34-5. Williams, Captains Outrageous, p.92./

MAINWARING, Henry (flor. 1613-16)

One of the most famous of English pirates, although he was never indicted. Left England in 1613 and established himself as 'admiral' in the Atlantic. Was pardoned in 1616.

/Supra, pp. 106-7, 151-3, 164. For the rest of his life see Mainwaring, Life and Works./

MELLIN, William (flor. 1604)

Bristol, merchant.

Involved in the same piracy as Lux. Fled to Civitavecchia and obtained a pardon from the pope for his action against the infidel.

Remained at Leghorn under the protection of the duke of Tuscany, and was there in 1610, using the port as a base from which to trade with the pirates at Mamora.

Returned to England and in 1614 was reported to be living and prospering at Bristol.

/H.C.A. 13/98/195: 21 June 1614. See notes under LUX./

MENDOZA or MONNOCHO See under WOODLAND, John.

MILLER, Richard (flor. 1612-16?)

Londoner.

Was given command of the Little Pelican of La Rochelle by Peter Johnson, a Dutch rover. By October 1612 Miller had left Johnson and had surrendered at Kinsale with goods worth £500. Was pardoned, but found difficulty in keeping his plunder, which should have been restored to him under the terms of the pardon.

In 1616 a one-armed seaman of this name collected a band of men together in London and captured two ketches in the Thames. He was killed off the North Foreland by some Aldeburgh fishermen whose boat he had rifled. There is no evidence to suggest that these two men were one and the same.

/H.C.A. 1/48/97-8, 100: 30 May 1616; 13/98/20: 23 January 1613; 14/41/134. Analecta Hibernica, pp. 61, 136./

MILLINGTON, Richard (flor. 1612)

London, gentleman, aged forty in 1613. Never indicted.

At sea for only four years, he was continually in the company of Baugh. Welcomed the general pardon which was brought to Mamora in 1611, but remained at sea during the first part of 1612 as captain of the Cat, and was referred to as Baugh's 'vice-admiral.' Captured the Archangel of Lubeck, which he handed over to Baugh, and also a vessel of La Rochelle, laden with silk, linen cloth and iron. Was in consort with Baugh at the capture of a Dutch West Indiaman, and of a French Brazilman laden with wood, sugar and cotton.

Surrendered at Kinsale, and in September 1612, was given a pass to travel from Ireland to London to take up James' offer of a pardon. He called witnesses tothe admiralty in the following year to testify that Baugh had cheated him out of his shares of the £5,000 booty to which he was entitled under the terms of his pardon.

/H.C.A. 1/47/276: 9 April 1612; 13/42/119, 214-5: 6 January, 21 August 1613; 13/98/33-4, 37-8: 1, 26 March 1613; 14/42/29./

MOUNTAIN, Lawrence (flor. 1615)

Dover man. Active on the English coast. Killed in a fight at sea.

/Supra, pp. 199, 254-5./

MUCKILL, John (flor. 1605)

London, gentleman.

Owner and captain of the Catherine of Southampton, possessing Dutch letters of marque. Seized the Jonas of Emden at Cowes in January 1605, and disposed of much of her cargo of fine cloth in the ports of the south-west. He sold the remainder of his loot in Morocco.

Off the Spanish coast, he boarded the Royal Exchange of London, master John Clark, and while he was aboard, some of the crew of the Royal Exchange made off with the Jonas. Muckill was brought to Dover by Clark and handed over to the captain of a naval vessel. He was examined in the admiralty court (9 May 1608), but no further criminal proceedings were taken against him, although he had been indicted for piracy. This may have been because his crime was committed before James' proclamation

forbade English seamen from serving foreign commissions, but more likely because a number of prominent men had either received or bought a part of his loot. He was again questioned in 1611 about how he had disposed of the cargo of the Jonas.

/Supra, pp. 191-3. H.C.A. 1/46/195-6: 29 June 1605; 1/47/244: 27 October 1611; 13/97/128-9, 144-6, 154-7, 212-3, 278: 12 March, 20 April, 9 May, 28 September 1608, 24 February 1609; 13/41/259: 12 October 1611./

MYAGH (flor. 1601?-14)

Probably Irish by birth.

A 'capten Megh' first appears in 1601 at a piracy on the Good Fortune of Leith near Cork.

March 1613, 'Captain Mewgh', an Irishman, in a French ship manned by an English, Irish and Dutch crew of about fifty, captured the Edward Bonaventure off Tenerife after a battle lasting several hours, and took what goods and provisions he wanted.

A 'Meagh' was named among the English pirate captains who were with Mainwaring at Mamora. Early in 1614 he sailed from Barbary in a 160-ton Flemish vessel laden with booty, and surrendered at Crookhaven (1 March). Was granted a protection by the lord deputy on the directions of the Privy Council, on condition that he restored the goods belonging to a London merchant, which he had inherited from Peters, a Dutch rover. On 4 March, his ship was attacked by four Dutch warships commanded by Moy Lambert. He and forty of his men were killed when part of their ship was blown up. Their booty was carried off to Holland.

/Supra, p. 157. H.C.A. 1/48/12-15: 30 November 1614; 13/42/156: 21 May 1613; 13/98/189, 209-11: 23 May, 3 August 1614. H.M.C. Downshire, IV. 398, 415. C.S.P. Ir. 1615-25, p. 132, 134. A.P.C. 1601-4, p.361, A.P.C. 1615-16, p.14./

NORMAN, John (flor. 1629?-33)

'Vice-admiral' to Robert Nutt and active off the western coast of England and Ireland in the early 1630's. Reported lost at sea, 1633.

A sailor of this name from Corfe, Dorset, was indicted for a piracy on the Angel of Halstow near Tilbury Hope in December 1629.

/Supra, pp. 203-4. H.C.A. 1/7/66./

NUTT, John (flor. 1621-3)

Lympstone, Devon, mariner. Married, with a wife and three children at Topsham.

Turned to piracy in Newfoundland in August 1621, and was active there in the following year, although he did nothing to damage the infant English plantation. Reported to have been on the Barbary coast, but little specific is known of his piracies until early in 1623, when he robbed several vessels off the western reaches of Britain whilst awaiting news of an English pardon (he had already received a pardon from the Prince of Orange). Arrested by Sir John Eliot, but he and his men were pardoned by James on 28 August 1623.

A John Nutt is recorded as captain of several privateers at the start of Charles' reign and was in trouble in 1627 for taking Dutch goods.

/Supra, pp. 166, 195-6. The Book of Examinations and Depositions, 1622-1644, ed. R.C. Anderson, (Southampton Record Society), I. 16-17, 95. The Council Book of the Corporation of Youghal, ed. R. Caulfield, pp. xlviii-l./

NUTT, Robert (flor. 1631-2)

Probably the most famous pirate of Charles' reign.

1631, was active on the south-west coast of England. His depredations caused the government such anxiety that a pardon was extended in March 1632. Was reported to have been executed in Spain.

In 1610 one Robert Nutt, serving in the Diamond of Lyme Regis, had been 'perforst' by the Dutch rover Captain John and carried to Mamora. He subsequently escaped and sailed with Richard Bishop to Ireland, whence he got passage home.

A man of the same name is mentioned as captain of two privateers in the late 1620's.

/Supra, pp. 166-7, 202-4, H.C.A. 1/47/197: 11 June 1611./

OLOARD or OLOROREH, Christopher (flor. 1602-4)

From Dartmouth or Southampton, 'a soldier by trade, both on sea and on land'. Described as 'æther small, dressed in black velvet trousers and jacket, crimson silk socks, black felt hat, brown beard, and shirt collar embroidered in black silk, age about thirty-two.'

Sailed from England late in 1602 as captain of the Legion. Plundered the Buonaventura Geopandita of Venice near Zante, and captured the Memma e Constantina at Strivali. Was arrested at Modone by the Turks, and handed over to the Venetian governor of Zante. Was tried, condemned to death, and hanged at Zante 'in a high and conspicuous place' on 11 September 1604.

/C.S.P. Ven. 1603-7, pp. 31, 100, 181. Tenenti, Decline of Venice, pp. 70-1./

OLIVER, Anthony (flor. 1614)

An Englishman who confessed that he had been in Spanish service since the end of Elizabeth's reign.

Captained a mixed crew of 150 in the Speranza of Flushing, which he had bought at Seville and equipped for warfare. On 3 April 1614 he intercepted the Phoenix of London, with a cargo of wine worth nearly £5,000, outside the Straits of Gibraltar, and took her to Tetuan, where he sold both ship and cargo to the Turks.

/H.C.A. 13/98/197-8: 26 June 1614./

ORANGE, Henry (flor. c. 1609-13)

Indicted as a Plymouth mariner, but was said to hail from Ratcliffe. Reported amongst the Atlantic pirates as master to Bishop, Hussy and Bonnage and as master's mate of Hugh's ship.

Joined Baugh about 1611 and remained with him for some eighteen months. At the capture of the Bull of Dieppe (14 May 1612) he was master of the Cat, Baugh's 'vice-admiral', commanded by Millington. At this piracy, Orange, unbeknown to Baugh, took some precious stones valued at £20,000, belonging to Robert le Bret. He was kept prisoner by Baugh when his deception was discovered, but escaped and fled to London by way of Dublin. He boasted of his riches and declared his intent to share the jewels with Millington. However, he was arrested and examined on 25 January 1613 in the presence of le Bret. He denied ever having had the jewels but was indicted and arraigned (8 November). Convicted and sentenced to death, he nevertheless escaped execution, being eligible for the royal pardon which had been granted to Baugh and his followers.

/H.C.A. 1/6/113, 123; 1/47/105, 154, 183; 205, 251: 22 November 1610, 26 April, 21 June, 15 November 1611; 1/60/68; 13/98/20-1, 24-5, 28-9, 31-2: 25 January, 8, 24, 26 February 1613./

OWEN (flor. 1607)

Brother to Sir Richard Hawkins' wife. Went to sea as captain of a ship with a Dutch commission, but his crew mutinied and elected another captain.

/H.M.C. Salisbury, XIX. 229./

PANDEXTER, John, alias BILLET (flor. 1607)

Southampton, mariner.

June 1607, one Billet, captain of the Willmott of Topsham, was ashore when his ship was seized in Stoke's Bay by a naval vessel on suspicion of piracy. This was probably John Pandexter, alias Billet, who, using a rowing-boat, launched a successful night attack on the St. Hubert, alias the Golden Calf of Dunkirk, forty tons, at Portsmouth that October. A few days after this piracy Pandexter and his men assaulted a French vessel outside Plymouth, killed one of her crew, and cast the weighted body into the sea. Leaving the St. Hubert after a quarrel, he was soon arrested. Was examined in the admiralty court (9 November), tried and convicted of piracy and murder in December. Hanged at Wapping.

/H.C.A. 1/5/175; 1/60/34; 13/97/71-3, 163-4, 203-4: 9 November 1607, 4 June, 19 September 1608./

PARKER (flor. 1609-11)

'A yonge man not having any heare on his face and of a middle stature'. His early career cannot be traced with any certainty, since he was known simply as Captain Parker, and there were several men of this name involved in piracy at the time.

Mid-1609, was active in Ireland. Reported to be in a Dutch vessel laden with sugar commanding a crew of thirty-five. Captured a French vessel laden with salt at Baltimore and agreed to take her crew to sea in search of plunder. Plundered a Spanish Brazilman and brought her cargo of wood and sugar to Leamcon. Gave the French some sugar chests but refused to give their ship back to them. Sailed for Morocco in it to sell his loot.

It was about this time that Parker captured the Black Raven, a fine Flemish flyboat of Hoorn, which served as his man-of-war for about a year. She was variously described as being between 200 and 250 tons, and mounting as many as thirty guns.

Late 1609, he intercepted the Flowers of Comfort off the Spanish coast, but took little from her. In February 1610, he stopped the William of London off Gibraltar, but allowed her to proceed unharmed as well. Parker was reported by the master of the William to have also captured a French man-of-war after a hard battle in which he lost many men. He also searched the Gift of God, which he met off Cape Pitcher, and was said to have captured a strong Scottish ship and to have taken her to Mamora.

In 1610 he sold the Black Raven to Hussy and Hughs, perhaps because he possessed a better vessel.

Reported to have been killed in battle against the Dutch rovers at Mamora, early in 1611.

/H.C.A. 1/47/78, 80, 91, 93, 109, 110, 116, 166, 177-8, 288, 305: 27, 29 January, 27 March, 21 April, 1, 3, May 1610, 20 February, 9 April 1611, 3 June, 9 August 1612; 13/41/239:; 12 August 1611./

PARKER, Robert (flor. 1613)

Captain of a band of pirates which captured the Leveret of Quilleboeuf at Fishguard, with a cargo of rye worth £500. He ran his prize aground near Barnstaple, was arrested, and imprisoned at Exeter (June 1613).

/H.C.A. 13/98/144-5, 167-9: 8 December 1613, 23 January 1614./

PENN, Giles (flor. 1613)

PENN, William (flor. 1613)

Brothers. Captains under Mainwaring at Mamora, who were in possession of three prizes laden with figs, wine and oil.

/H.C.A. 13/98/189-90, 199, 211; 23 May, 28 June, 9 August 1614./

PERKINS, John (flor. 1610)

See above, p.131.

PIERCE, William (flor. 1602-10?)

Bigbury, Devon, gentleman. A bachelor who had a Turkish wife abroad. Aged twenty or twenty-two in 1603, with a rich father living near Plymouth. Also known as Piers, Pearse and Piershal. A fearsome man with an'angry countenance'.

Late 1602, left Plymouth in the Elizabeth of that city. Entered the Straits, andon about 13 January 1613, captured the Veniera, 600 tons a fabulously rich Venetian vessel which had as passenger Zuane da Mosto, the retiring Venetian consul in Alexandria.

The Veniera, renamed the Fox, and mounting forty guns, was seized at Plymouth by Sir Richard Hawkins, but Pierce had left the ship off the Spanish coast and had joined a Plymouth vessel captained by Christopher Wright, which landed him and his loot at Teignmouth.

1603, was arrested by Scaramelli, the Venetian secretary in England, who described him as 'under twenty-five, squarely built and bold looking.' Was imprisoned in the Marshalsea and twice examined in the admiralty court (22 July 1603, 22 February 1604). Although some members of the Privy Council pleaded for his life, Pierce, (whose crime had been committed in Elizabeth's reign), was sentenced to hang after it was decided that James' general coronation pardon did not extend to pirates. When he saw that he could not escape the rope he offered to reveal the names of his accomplices and to give the Venetians 1,000 crowns to compound his offence - an offer which they chose to accept.

It seems unlikely that his piratical career ended here. In July 1605 it was rumoured that a Captain Peers and his accomplices intended to seize a Spanish carvel at Cawsand Bay near Plymouth, and in the following year a Plymouth mariner named William Peerse sailed from Flushing as master of Captain Fage's ship, the Why Not I?, and was subsequently indicted for piracy. In January 1607 a Captain Pearse was said to be captive in Barbary and in 1609 Captain William Peircie or Pearcie was reported as lieutenant of Parker's ship in Ireland. Captain William Pearsey also appears in command of his own man-of-war at Santa Cruz.

It seems likely, therefore, that Pierce was involved in piracy after he had been released for the spoil on the Veniera. At any rate on 6 June 1610 he was reported to have been hanged.

/Supra, pp. 44, 49. H.C.A. 1/5/22, 32, 110; 1/46/74-80, 87, 92-3, 100, 201, 265, 312: 22 July, 1 August 1603, 13, 22 February, 16 March 1604, 10 July 1605, 19 July 1606, 24 January 1607; 1/47/116, 126-7: 3 May, 2, 6 June 1610. See C.S.P. Ven. 1592-1603 and 1603-07./

PIN, Thomas (flor. 1604-5)

Sailor, born in Southwold, Suffolk, where he lived for most of his life and was well-known.

c. August 1605, went to sea as captain of his own ship, the Grace, a pinnace of less than twenty tons, which he had manned and victualled in both Holland and England and which carried Dutch letters of marque.

Plundered the Frances of Jersey, fifty tons, as she was returning from Lisbon to her home port (2 September 1604). Was hotly pursued in England by M. Bouillon, a Frenchman, whose goods had been in the Frances. Was arrested at Southwold but released on bail. After being rearrested he was brought to London, where the admiralty judge, Sir Julius Caesar, refused to allow him to reach a composition. Bouillon was therefore forced to go through with criminal proceedings.

Pin was examined on 27 June 1605 and tried at Southwark on 2 July. He refused to plead, probably in order to protect his accomplices, and was pressed to death in the Marshalsea Prison the next day.

/Supra, pp. 269-70. H.C.A. 1/5/66; 1/46/155, 183, 194, 208-12, 231-3, 318-9: 12 December 1604, 8 May, 27 June, 5 November 1605, 8 January 1606, 14 February 1607. H.M.C. Salisbury, XVII. 295-6, XX. 10-14./

PLUME (flor. 1602-3)

See above, p. 100.

PLUMLEY, Lewis, (flor. 1607-11)

Dartmouth, mariner. A tall man.

Owner of the Willmott of Topsham, which was stayed at Stoke's Bay in mid-1607 on suspicion of piracy. Was released and then sailed from Topsham, ostensibly for a voyage to the West Indies. However, the Willmott was reported to have been wrecked at Mogador and Plumley joined Saxbridge, with whom he was 'forthe a pirating' in 1608.

Was indicted with Saxbridge's crew for piracy on the Brave of Dieppe off Ushant (22 September 1608), and was roving with him off the Irish coast in the last months of the year. Followed Saxbridge to Newfoundland and on the latter's death sailed with Philip Harvey and seized the Son of Flushing in Brittany (8 October 1609). Roved the Atlantic as Harvey's master in search of plunder, but had no luck and returned to Ireland. Was soon back in the company of the pirates and was reported to be in Bishop's company, looking for a ship of his own.

Late 1610, was operating from Mamora in the Raven, thirty guns, intercepting at least two British vessels off the Atlantic coast of Spain.

Killed in battle against the Dutch rovers at Mamora, early 1611.

/H.C.A. 1/6/15, 31; 1/47/21, 86, 90, 98, 105, 118, 132, 157, 172, 178: 22 June 1609, 5, 27 March, 12 April, 4 May, 9 June, 5 December 1610, 11 March, 9 April 1611; 13/97/194, 203: 3, 19 September 1608. B.M. Cott. MS Otho E VIII, f. 355. C.S.P. Ir. 1608-10, pp. 69, 99, 130./

POWELL (flor. 1614)

c. March 1614, was captain of the Mamora, a Flemish vessel manned by fifty men, at Mamora.

/H.C.A. 1/48/31: 9 March 1615./

POWICKE, John (flor. 1632-3)

1632, John Poicke was at Dunkirk in possession of Spanish letters of marque against the Dutch. His ship was a fishing boat which he had purchased at Barking and renamed the Esperanza of Dunkirk . He left Dunkirk with a crew of fourteen, sailed to the North Foreland and robbed a Dutch fishing smack of some cloth off Tilbury. His ship and booty were arrested at Harwich, but he does not appear to have been indicted.

/H.C.A. 1/7/103; 1/49/85-7, 89: 24 September 1632./

PRESTON, Leonard (flor. 1616-18)

Captain of a pirate band on the English coast.

/Supra, p. 183./

PRISKE, Diggory (flor. 1624)

An old sea-captain who hatched an unsuccessful plot with some sailors from the king's ships to seize an Ipswich hoy in the Thames and to capture the Lark, a ship which was lying off the Cornish coast with a cargo of tin worth nearly £40,000.

/H.C.A. 1/49/151-3: 23 July 1624./

PROPHET, Johas (flor. 1613-14)

Stratford, Suffolk, mariner.

1613, bosun's mate of the Anne Royal in the fleet which ferried Princess Elizabeth to Flushing. Took to piracy on his return to London. Was arraigned 13 May 1613 for piracy on the Nightingale, and sentenced to death. After escaping from prison, he captured a bark and sailed to Mamora to join the pirates. Became master, first of Wilkinson's man-of-war, then of Ford's ship.

/Supra, pp. 175-6, 181. H.C.A. 1/6/97, 105; 13/98/51, 58, 112-3: 4, 14 June, 1 October 1613./

RANDEL, William (flor. 1610)

See above, p. 131.

ROBERTS, Richard, alias ROBINSON (flor. 1606-11)

Born in Shropshire. A mariner who had earned his living at sea since c. 1586. Resident at Plymouth, he was indicted as a gentleman of that city.

1603, went to Amsterdam and remained there for about three years.

Mid-1606, sailed to the Spanish coast with Vaughan under Dutch letters of marque. Captured the Pearl, and brought the ship and her rich cargo to Larache. Became captain of the pirates when Vaughan left for England in a merchantman. About August 1607 he arrived at Baltimore in a 240-ton flyboat and sold cochineal and indigo from the Pearl to the local inhabitants.

In a similar report of August 1607 a crew of eighty English pirates are reported to have mutinied against Owen and to have taken over a Spanish vessel of Hamburg laden with corn. They then elected Roberts of Plymouth as their captain, sold the corn in Larache and sailed to Ireland where Roberts disposed of his booty. The Pearl and the Hamburg vessel may well be one and the same ship.

Roberts revictualled at Baltimore and put to sea in his flyboat. He captured two rich French vessels from Roscoff off the Isles of Bayonne (22 October 1607), for which he was indicted, and returned with one of these, the St. Anne, to Baltimore, where he and his men spent their loot 'in most riotous manner.'

He careened his flyboat, gave the St. Anne to Jennings, and left Baltimore again in about January 1608. This time he took two Spanish vessels laden with corn off the Spanish coast. He carried his prizes to Barbary, but Easton and Saxbridge, two of his officers, made off with them and Roberts was forced to return empty-handed to Baltimore (May 1608). He was, however, so well-equipped that Lord Danvers, the president of Munster, offered him a safe-conduct. Although his men were reluctant to go ashore at first, they eventually surrendered and no further action was taken against them. Robert's ship, the Bull, Bear and Horse of 120 tons, mounting twenty-four various pieces of ordnance, was sent out on naval service in preference to the Tramontane.

Late in 1608 Roberts went to England and visited his brother in Holborn, to redeem a bond for £174 which he had earlier invested for his children's welfare.

He took his family to live in Munster, but his name appears on a list of prisoners who were sent over from Ireland on suspicion of piracy and delivered at Bristol on 17 March 1610. He was brought to London and examined in the admiralty court (3 May 1610), but was released from custody in October 1610 - perhaps because he had bribed the lord admiral with £100. He died soon after, rather conveniently for those who had received his booty and allowed him to live openly in Ireland. A certificate exists for his burial in St. James, Garlickhithe, on 27 April 1611, signed by the parson, the church warden and the parish clerk.

/H.C.A. 1/5/201-2; 1/6/61; 1/47/28, 87-9, 103-4, 114: 21 July 1609, 6 March, 21 April, 3 May 1610; 13/40/161-2: 16 June 1609; 13/97/122, 136-7, 208-9: 1, 23 March, 22 September 1608; 14/39/11; 1/60/51. B.M. Cott. MS Otho E VIII, ff. 2, 5. H.M.C. Salisbury, XIX. 229. C.S.P. Ir. 1606-08, passim, under Robinson; C.S.P. Ir. 1608-10, p.42./

ROBINSON, Richard, see ROBERTS

ROCKWELL, Walter (flor. 1606-13)

Although there is no evidence that it is the same man, Walter Rockwell is a name connected with piracy over a period of several years.

In 1609 an examinant in the admiralty court referred to a Thomas Rockwell of Bristol, who had been redeemed from slavery at Tunis by

Ward some four years earlier. In fact, this was probably Walter Rockwell, a Bristolian who was in Ward's pinnace at the capture of the John Baptist (1 November 1606). A Bristolian of the same name was in Easton's company in 1610 and became master of a Biscaynan prize under Roope. In 1613 Walter Rockwell, a Bristol mariner, was a sailor in the fleet which carried Elizabeth to Flushing. On his return to England he joined Prophet in taking the Nightingale of Middleburg off the North Foreland (13 May 1613). He was indicted for this crime but never arraigned, although in December 1613 Walter Rockwell, a twenty-nine year-old Bristol mariner, was examined in connection with a spoil committed in the East Indies in 1612.

/H.C.A. 1/6/97; 1/47/158, 202, 254: 15 December 1610, 19 June, 25 November 1611; 13/97/14, 65: 30 May 1607, 13 December 1609; 13/98/51, 147: 4 June, 13 December 1613./

ROMPPS, William (flor. 1622-5)

Diddlebury, Shropshire, gunmaker.

Was captured by the Turks in 1622 and apostatised. Made several voyages in Turkish warships in 1623-4 and was at the capture of vessels of Portugal and Leghorn. Was roving in Bristol waters late in 1624. The Turks gave him command of the Isabel, a Scottish ship, taken off the Lizard in December, with orders to bring her to Algiers. The Isabel, however, was recovered by the Eagle of London, and Rompps was brought to London early in 1625, where he was tried and sentenced to death.

/Supra, p. 211. H.C.A. 1/7/47-8; 13/44/400: 23 February 1625./

ROOPE, Gilbert (flor. 1605-12)

A Devonian. Indicted as a Plymouth mariner, but in one report he is said to come from Dartmouth.

1605, sailed in a vessel with Dutch letters of marque which sold corn from a Flemish prize at Mevagissey. Returned to sea with the pirates and was at the capture of a Spanish prize laden with sugar which was sold at Safi. He assumed command for a short time, but soon returned to England with his loot.

Early 1607, joined Jennings in Ireland and soon gained a command of his own. Was indicted for two piracies in 1608 on, the St. John Evangelist, off the Scillies (20 August), and on the Bishop, off the Burlings (4 December). Is described in one indictment as a London mariner. He surrendered with Jennings in Ireland early in 1609, and was sent to Dublin. Although directions were given to send him to England for trial, he was never arraigned, and is mentioned as having being left in Ireland to persuade other pirates to surrender. He probably received the pardon which had been promised him by the earl of Thomond.

By 1610 he was at sea again, this time in Easton's company. He became captain of a Biscaynan prize, and was in command of a flyboat when the Concord was taken in 1611. He then sailed to Guinea and Newfoundland with Easton, and was made captain of the Jacob of Rotterdam.

By October 1612 he had arrived at Kinsale in the Katherine of Olonne, fifty tons, a fishing boat taken in Newfoundland in May. He brought with him Easton's letters requesting a pardon, and it was intended that he should carry a copy of a current pardon to Easton. However, it appears he never did so, although he and his men were almost certainly pardoned themselves.

/H.C.A. 1/6/3, 5; 1/46/249-50: 3 May 1606; 1/47/28, 71, 158, 188, 202, 253, 317: 21 July, 16 December 1609, 15 December 1610, 7 May, 19 June, 25 November 1611, 24 October 1612; 1/48/52: 22 July 1615; 13/42/110: 17 November 1612; 13/97/136-7, 209: 23 March, 22 September 1608; 13/98/6-7, 58-60: 10 December 1612, 14 June 1613. B.M. Cott. MS Otho E VIII, f. 355. H.M.C. Salisbury, XX. 236. Analecta Hibernica, pp. 60, 62-3. C.S.P. Ir. 1608-10, pp. 186-8, 251; C.S.P. Ir. 1611-14, pp. 306, 383. A.P.C. 1613-14, p. 130./

SALLOWES See ALLEN, John

SAMMES, Captain (flor. c. 1609)

His vessel is reported to have been wrecked at Berehaven, but he and thirty of his men succeeded in capturing another vessel in the harbour. Mid-1609, he was at Leamcon in command of a French prize and thirty-five men. He yielded this ship to the vice-admiral.

Is also reported to have taken a flyboat in Ireland, but by April 1610 he had been killed.

/H.C.A. 1/47/78, 82-3, 90, 99, 250: 27, 29 January, 27 March, 17 April 1610, 15 November 1611.

SAMPSON, Captain (flor. 1605-24)

Real name Sampson Denball or Denboe (also indicted as Tibball), Dartmouth, mariner.

C. 1605, settled at Tunis with Ward and went to sea as his master's mate. Was at the capture of the John Baptist (1606) and was indicted with Ward for spoiling a Venetian ship in the following year. Early 1609, was sent to sea by Ward as captain of an eighty-ton vessel with a predominantly Turkish crew. Captured the Elizabeth of Leith and two barks of Dartmouth and Southampton.

Mid-1609, was sent to sea again by Ward, this time in the Gift, a flyboat of 160 tons, sixteen guns, manned by Turks. Took the Penelope of London, master Robert Earl, a vessel of Sandwich, master Christopher Wright, and was indicted for piracy on the Hope of London, master Edmund Bailey. He was also reported to have seized a 300-ton Spanish ship.

Remained at Tunis and rose to be captain of the Tunisian bertons. Apostatised, taking the name of Ali Reis. In January 1617 he was in consortship with five other Turkish ships which attacked the Dolphin of London off Sardinia - two of them captained by Walsingham and Kelly. Was captured by christian forces in 1624 and condemned to the gallies, where he probably died.

/Supra, pp. 66-7, 71, 78, 80. H.C.A. 1/5/184; 1/6/16; 1/47/47-50 55, 57-8, 65, 70, 227-30: 11, 22, 24-5 November, 13-14 December 1609, 27 August 1611; 13/97/13: 30 May 1607. S.P. 71/26/1. Lediard, The Naval History of England 1066-1734, II. 440-3./

SAYER, Ambrose (flor. 1603-14)

See above, pp. 81-3.

SAYER, Vespasian (flor. 1603-4)

Brother of Ambrose.

Sailed from England late in Elizabeth's reign as captain of the Francis. In 1604 is mentioned as captain of a small pirate vessel operating in the eastern Mediterranean. Captured the Vidala of Venice and brought her to Modone, where he was arrested. Was released by the inhabitants of Modone, but later captured at the Island of Combola. In 1608 he was a prisoner of the duke of Tuscany, who refused to release him despite King James' intercession.

/C.S.P. Ven. 1603-7, pp. 151, 154, 159. B.M. Cott. MS. Nero B VII, ff. 258, 264./

SAXBRIDGE, Tibalt (flor. 1606-9)

Lived at Ratcliffe. A 'little fellowe', but an important pirate captain. Never indicted. His name is spelt several ways, the next most common form being 'Saxbitch'.

1606, 'Tabaull Suxpidge' of Ratcliffe is named as master of Adyn's ship the Golden Phoenix.

He operated out of Ireland as master to Robinson, but early in 1608, he and Easton ran off with two of Robinson's prizes. They pursued their fortunes together for about a year, with Saxbridge assuming command. Soon after quitting Robinson they were at the Canary Islands, where they robbed the Elizabeth of London.

On 22 September 1608, off Ushant, Saxbridge took the Brave of Dieppe, a rich prize, and brought her to Ireland, where he disposed of her cargo.

1608-9, he wintered on the Munster coast with a pirate band said to be strong enough to land 300 men. Was reported at Baltimore in a flyboat named the Content, as 'admiral' over Easton and Thompson, who possessed their own vessels. Had a narrow escape when the king's pinnace opened fire on his man-of-war.

Ventured across the Irish Channel and recruited men at Torbay and Cawsand Bay. In 1609 he sailed to Morocco, stocked his ship with victuals, and made a voyage via the Azores and the West Indies to Newfoundland, where he met his death leading an attack on a French ship.

Left a wife and two daughters who were living in or near Dublin in 1612.

/Supra, p. 133. H.C.A. 1/6/15; 1/46/285-6: 22 September, 1 October 1606; 1/47/6, 61, 86, 99, 115-8, 120-2: 20 May, 28 November 1609, 5 March, 17 April, 3, 4, 14 May 1610; 13/97/192-3, 202, 209; 13, 19, 22 September 1608; 13/98/32: 26 February 1613. C.S.P. Ir. 1608-10 pp. 69, 99, 130./

SHERLEY, Sir Thomas (flor. 1603)

See above, pp. 53-4.

SKY, Robert (flor. 1606)

Only known to have made one voyage.

c. May 1606, left Schiedam as captain of the Hound, a sixty-ton flyboat manned by twenty-four Englishmen and twenty-two Dutchmen. Was well-received on the south coast of England. Captured a 'tallowinge' ship in Torbay and intercepted two Biscayan ships off the north cape (of Spain?), taking £2,000 in cash and several tons of iron from them. Sailed to Weymouth to revictual.

/H.C.A. 1/46/289/90: 7 October 1606; 13/97/113-4: 3 February 1608./

SMITH, William (flor. 1611)

On 7 March 1611, William Smith, in a French ship, intercepted the Elizabeth and Mary off Cape Finisterre. He took provisions and tackle, but apologized for doing so, and paid for what he had taken with two gold ingots. He is heard of again in mid-1611, this time as captain of a Friesland ship in company with Easton at Leamcon. He was at Mamora later in the year, and made gifts to Roger Middleton, who arrived with James' pardon. Was reported to be at Leamcon soon afterwards with Hughs and Stephenson, negotiating terms before returning to England. Was almost certainly pardoned.

He is perhaps to be identified with a Captain Smith, who robbed the Blessing near 'the Groyne' late in 1610.

/H.C.A. 1/47/189, 207, 251; 9 May, 26 June, 15 November 1611; 13/41/152: 13 February 1611; 13/98/23, 77, 82: 27 January, 3, 23 July 1613. B.M. Cott. MS. Otho E VIII, f. 378./

SOCKWELL, Thomas (flor. 1606-10)

His name is spelt in various ways, (e.g. Suckwell, Salkwell, Sackwelle, Sawkell, Salkeld, Sakell, Salkell), but he was indicted as Thomas Sockwell, London, gentleman. A man of medium build, aged thirty-six in 1609.

Was in the expedition to Cadiz (1596) and was captain of the Lion's Whelp in the Channel Squadron at the start of James' reign.

Late in 1606, left Flushing as part-owner of a Dutch privateer. Was elected captain and embarked on a career of piracy. He took several prizes and returned to England from Morocco, landing at Pevensey in about June 1607.

After recruiting men at Cawsand Bay he was roving in the Atlantic again in 1608. He took the St. Jacob of Hamburg near the Isles of Bayonne (6 May) and also captured a rich Portuguese carvel near Madeira (31 August), selling his booty at Mamora. His share of this prize was put at £3,000. He made the St. Jacob his man-of-war and put Bevins in command of his pink, with instructions to serve him as a pinnace.

Although indicted five times for piracies which he had committed in 1607-8, Sockwell was bold enough to sail the St. Jacob to London. Late in 1608 he was in hiding in Holborn, but soon left the city to live with William Serwood at Charley, Staffordshire. He had thousands of pounds in Barbary gold in his possession and had left some more of his loot in a victualling house at Deal. He deposited his riches with Edward Fitton of Galsworthy, Cheshire, with instructions to try to obtain a pardon for him.

Late in 1609 Sockwell was again in London, reputedly offering £20,000 for a pardon. When a hue and cry was raised, he arranged for a friend to prefer a charge against him and have him arrested under a false name, thereby enabling him to escape detection. Released after two weeks in Newgate, he rode to Barnstaple and got passage for Ireland.

He then began to build up his strength again. He captured a Bideford bark off the Irish coast and after gathering together a semblance of a crew, he proceeded to the Welsh coast, where he took four coal barks at the Mumbles. He seized a ship of Barnstaple at Lundy Island and sailed to Milford, where he took several prizes, including a vessel of Southampton, which he made his man-of-war. On 9 March 1610 he and his men entered Milford and sacked it.

From Milford, he crossed to Lundy and proclaimed himself king. He captured several vessels passing the island and made his prisoners forsake James and swear an oath of loyalty to himself on pain of execution. He strengthened the defences of the island and constructed a quay to be used by gallies which he hoped to employ for attacks on the English coast. Although he said he intended to keep the island for the rest of his life, he held it for less than two weeks, from 23 March to 4 April 1610, because his prisoners, led by George Escott, revolted, and forced him to beat a hasty retreat in a bark with only sixteen men.

He then made his way to Ireland, and, sorely wounded, was carried to sea by Easton, who refused to hand him over to the deputy vice-admiral of Munster. In September it was reported that Sockwell, 'that petty rebel and pirate', had been thrown overboard and killed by Easton. It seems likely that his arrogance in proclaiming himself king of Lundy had alienated him from the rest of the English pirates. Even if he had not been killed, he would never have been pardoned.

/Supra, pp. 108-9, 111. H.C.A. 1/5/168-70, 220; 1/6/13; 1/47/112-4: 30 April 1610; 1/101/40: 4 July 1607; 13/97/32-3, 204, 217, 221, 261-2, 281-5: 5 July 1607, 19 September, 5, 10 October, 28 December 1608, 18, 25 February 1609; 13/98/68, 72: 21-2 June 1613. S.P. 14/53/100. Lambeth Palace, S.P. Carew, vol. 619, ff. 125, 138, 143. C.S.P. Ir. 1608-10, pp. 480, 495. H.M.C. Salisbury XX. 236./

STANLEY, John (flor. 1605)

Captain and owner of the Hopewell of Chichester, with a crew of twenty Englishmen, which seized on a Flemish 'hulke' as it was leaving Falmouth in May 1605. The cargo of corn from the prize was sold in the region of Mevagissey with the help of a Dutch commission.

Was not indicted.

/H.C.A. 1/46/249: 3 May 1606. B.M. Lansd. MS. 142, f. 268./

STEPHENSON or STEVENS, Robert (flor. 1609-12)

Kings Lynn, gentleman. Aged thirty-eight in 1613. Never indicted.

1609, mentioned in Bishop's fleet at Leamcon with a French ship mounting six guns manned by twenty-seven men. Another report of about the same date gives his vessel as a 100-ton flyboat, eight guns, eighty men.

Active in the Atlantic during the following two years, working from bases in Ireland and Morocco. Intercepted several English vessels, but treated them courteously. Raided the town of Pontevedra in north-west Spain with a Flemish rover named Drinkwater, and stole two or three barks out of the harbour.

1611, was often in company with Francke and Gay. Gave one of his prizes, the Fortune, to Francke, who repayed the debt with the Flying Cow of Amsterdam. Stephenson refitted this ship as his man-of-war and renamed her the Thomas. She was a flyboat of at least 200 tons, mounting twenty-four guns. In June 1611 he took powder, shot and victuals from the Marigold of London, but continued to favour English shipping, and acted with Francke to free the George Bonaventure, which had been captured by Flemish pirates at Sally.

Showed willing to accept James' pardon when it was brought to Mamora. Made gifts to Middleton and lent him £200 to recover goods stolen from London merchants. Stephenson claimed that he protected Middleton, whose avarice brought him into conflict with the pirate captains.

Sailed for Ireland and on the way captured a Flemish ship laden with wine, salt, olives, ginger and figs. By December 1611 he was at Bantry, and he remained in Ireland for some months, hoping to obtain a pardon on more favourable terms. He eventually surrendered at Plymouth in 1612, in the Thomas.

Was examined in the admiralty court (3 July 1613), when he condemned Middleton's actions at Mamora, hoping to receive repayment of the £200 'loan'. He was also endeavouring to get some compensation for the loss of the Thomas. The terms of his pardon must have made provision for him to keep some portion of his loot.

/H.C.A. 1/47/78, 84-5, 105, 136, 157-8, 177, 224, 234, 251, 257, 284, 307-8: 27 January, (?)February, 22 July, 15 December 1610, 9 April, 24 August, 19 September, 15 November, 14 December 1611, 12 May, 11 August 1612; 13/41/59: 24 July 1610; 13/42/154, 156-7: 13, 22 May 1613; 13/98/22-4, 76-8: 27 January, 3 July 1613; 14/42/71. S.P. 14/65/16. B.M. Cott. MS. Otho E VIII ff. 355, 378./

SWEDEN, Captain (flor. 1607)

Captain of one of three pirate vessels carrying Dutch letters of marque at Helford early in 1607. Was with Isaac in Ireland soon after, as captain of the Greyhound. May have intended to go roving with Sir Ralph Bingley. Nothing more known.

/H.C.A. 1/46/336: 29 April 1607; 13/97/15, 74: 31 May, 14 November 1607./

THICKPENNY, Christopher (flor. 1609-14)

Although this man appears to have been an important pirate for several years, very little is known of him.

Mention is made of Captain Thickpenny, a pirate, walking openly in the streets of Youghal in 1609. In mid-1612 Captain Christopher Thickpenny was marauding in Newfoundland with Easton, apparently without a ship of his own, and in 1614 he was one of the leading English pirates at Mamora, working closely with Knightly.

/H.C.A. 1/47/92: 27 March 1610; 13/98/26, 65, 189, 199: 11 February, 15 June 1613, 23 May, 28 June 1614./

THOMPSON, William (flor. 1606-10)

Born in the north of England and indicted as a mariner of Burlington, Yorkshire, although he may have lived at Dartmouth for some time.

c. 1606, he and William Curtis brought two French prizes into Milford Haven.

1607, a William Thompson went to Ireland with Robinson and was indicted with Robinson for two piracies committed in October.

1608, was with Saxbridge at the capture of the Brave of Dieppe off Ushant (20 September). Saxbridge brought the prize to Ireland, sold most of her cargo and gave her to Thompson.

Thompson was on the Irish coast in the winter of 1608-9, but one report of mid-1609 said he was at Safi with a rich prize taken near Madeira.

In 1609, Thompson, who was described as an old man, was induced to return the Brave to her rightful owners by Richard Jobson, deputy vice-admiral of Munster, who promised to do his best to get Thompson a pardon. Meanwhile, the pirate settled at Leamcon with a protection granted by Jobson, which was endorsed by the president of Munster. Jobson later justified his action by saying that he had hoped to use Thompson to stamp out piracy, being 'the onely pirate this daie in the Sea, for his true understandeinge of all remote harbors bothe in Engelaude, Irelande and all other Cuntries wheere men of theire wicked condicion resorte.' Nevertheless, it seems more likely that Jobson was motivated by the large amounts of gold and other booty which he received from Thompson. In fact Thompson did perform some services in Ireland. He acted as intermediary in the surrender of Philip Harvey and he may even have sat as a juror at an admiralty court held on Inisherkin.

The way that the old pirate was treated was watched with interest by the other pirate captains frequentIng Ireland, who reasoned that 'yf Thomson mighte bee suffered, whome they helde the greateste offendor amongeste them, theere was none of them neede doubte but theye shoulde have libtie to inhabitte those waste places' /in Ireland/.

However, the government were in no mood for conciliation. On 17 March 1610 Thompson was delivered to the mayor of Bristol by the naval captain Sir William St. John, who had received a pearl necklace and a diamond ring from Thompson's wife, as an inducement to look after her husband's needs while he was in prison - a trust which St. John betrayed. As soon as Thompson had left Leamcon his house was raided by Izon Kempe, Jobson's successor in the vice-admiralty, who carried off three bars of gold. By April 1610 Thompson was in Newgate, and the following month he was examined three times in the High Court of Admiralty. He was tried and sentenced to death in October 1610, and hanged at Wapping soon afterwards.

/H.C.A. 1/5/201-2; 1/6/29, 46; 1/46/336: 26 April 1607; 1/47/6, 21, 79, 99, 107-8, 115-8, 123-4, 160, 243: 20 May, 22 June 1609, 27 January, 17, 21 April, 3, 4, 15 May 1610, 12 January, 19 October 1611; 1/60/50; 13/97/15, 235: 31 May 1607, 31 October 1608; 14/39/11. B.M. Cott. MS. Otho E VIII ff. 355, 368./

THORNTON, Richard (flor. 1607?-13)

See above, p.93.

TINDAL, Robert (flor. 1612)

Was taken out of the Daisy of London on the Guineacoast by Easton in January 1612. He claimed that he was forced to serve the pirates and had been badly treated by them. This seems unlikely. He either purchased, or was given, the command of a captured French bark, the Morris of Untville, which he brought to Kinsale in the summer of 1612. He surrendered at Fowey and was examined in the admiralty court, 11 September 1612. Was almost certainly pardoned.

/H.C.A. 1/47/314-5, 318: 11 September, 6, 24 October 1612; 13/98/34: 4 March 1613; 14/41/160./

TOMPKINS, Thomas (flor. 1603)

A gentleman, living at Southampton. Of noble birth, said to have been page to the earl of Essex. Aged about twenty-three in 1603.

Sailed from Southampton late in Elizabeth's reign as captain of the Margaret and John, saying he intended to make a voyage to the Indies. Entered the Mediterranean and captured the Black Balbiana of Venice near Cyprus (22 March 1603). He later said that his own share of the loot amounted to £2,600 in silver, three hundredweight of cochineal, as well as other riches. He landed at the Isle of Wight with his booty, but his prize was sequestered and some of his crew arrested. He was pursued relentlessly in England by the Venetians, and outlawed by a proclamation

of September 1603. The piracy was the more remarkable because of the embarrassment caused to Nottingham, who had to explain how he had acquired six sacks of silver coin from the Black Balbiana.

In 1604 Tompkins wrote to the Privy Council in a vain effort to exculpate his crime. Although his excuses are transparent, the letter throws light on Tompkin's early career. He said he had made five voyages before leaving England as captain of the Margaret and John, one of them being to the East Indies, which lasted nearly two-and-a-half years.

In 1606 he was arrested by a messenger of the king's chamber, but was able to escape before he reached prison by jumping on a horse provided by his own footman.

Was rearrested in April 1610, because he had the misfortune to be recognised by James, whilst presenting a petition to him. Was examined in the admiralty court on 5 April. Had probably spent some of his time whilst at large hiding in Hereford, but had also travelled to Ireland, France, Spain and the Low Countries. He claimed that his brother had given 1,000 marks to procure his pardon under the great seal, and he does not appear to have resorted to piracy again.

Was brought to trial in October 1610 - more than seven years after his crime - and indicted for piracy and murder. He spoke out boldly at his trial and said his only regret was that he had not killed all the witnesses to his crime. He was convicted and sentenced to death, but was subsequently reprieved by James because of his influential connections.

/Supra, pp. 217-8, 258. H.C.A. 1/5/40; 1/6/42-5; 1/46/84-6, 97-8, 129-30, 136-7, 152-3, 251-2, 260: 19 January, 7 March, 3, 21 May, 30 October 1604, 9, 11 May, 28 June 1606; 1/47/46-7, 96: 7 November 1609, 5 April 1610; 1/60/49-50. H.M.C. Salisbury XVI. 462. C.S.P. Ven. 1603-7, 1607-10 and 1610-13, passim./

TOWNES, Anthony (flor. 1603-14?)

c. 1602, was captain of a 25-ton pink at Tunis. While cruising in Modone waters early in 1603, he captured the Elizabeth, the ship which Pierce had left to the Venetians on taking the Venera. Townes put in at Milo and broke a promise to the governor that he would not interfere with shipping in the harbour, by escaping with a Marseilles vessel laden with silk and indigo, valued at about £15,000. He sailed to Tunis, where he sold his prize and her cargo. He then purchased the Wagon of Emden from the pirate Florey, and returned to England. By July 1604 he had been arrested on an action brought against him in the admiralty court by the French. No record of criminal proceedings has survived.

A pirate captain named Anthony Townes next appears almost ten years later. In December 1613 he captured the Swan of Shoreham and carried her to Limerick, where, posing as merchants, he and his men surprised

the Anne of Chichester and put to sea in her. Townes' next prize was a Dutch fishing vessel, and by mid-1614, he was marauding on the Russian coast in a ship of 200 tons with a crew of fifty or more. He robbed the Hopewell of Norway, which he set on fire, and he also spoiled the Ruby of London.

Nothing more is known of Townes, although there is the suspicion that his piracies may have been more extensive than is indicated by the surviving evidence.

/H.C.A. 1/46/59, 74, 92-3: 18 June, 22 July 1603, 22 February 1604; 1/48/9-10, 112, 114: 9 November 1614, 8, 19 September 1616; 13/36/257: 27 June 1603; 13/98/229: 20 September 1614. B.M. Add. MS. 5664 f. 407. A.P.C. 1615-16, p. 444./

TROWTES, Thomas (flor. 1607-8)

Indicted as a mariner of Sandwich, but said to come from Milton. A family man.

In 1607 he purchased the John of Milton, thirty tons, and sailed from Sandwich to London to sell seeds and plants. After leaving London he captured a Dutch hoy off the North Foreland (30 December), and was indicted for piracy.

About April 1608 he plundered the Esperance of St. Malo off the Cornish coast, selling his booty in Cornwall, and he also captured a French bark laden with twenty-five chests of sugar. He then put in at Dungeness, where his ship was armed and victualled by the locals, even though it was well known that he was a pirate.

Trowtes had a narrow escape later in 1608, when the officers of the vice-admiralties of Devon and Cornwall banded together with the authorities of Plymouth and surprised him and eighty of his men, who were at Cawsand Bay in five small boats. In the bloody fight which ensued most of the pirates escaped ashore, but two were killed and Trowtes and seven of his followers were caught. In the trial, which was held at Plymouth, four of the pirates were executed, but Trowtes and two others were spared because an admiralty warrant had been issued ordering their trial to be transferred to London. Trowtes was imprisoned in Exeter, but he was probably never sent to London, for Sir Richard Hawkins, the vice-admiral of Devon, was later accused of freeing him and of giving him back his ship.

/H.C.A. 1/5/199; 13/97/107, 151-2, 154, 164-5, 170-1, 241-3: 9 January, 1, 2, 5, 9 May, 9 June, 2, 4 July, 16 November 1608. B.M. Cott. MS. Otho E VIII, f. 4. S.P. 14/34/6./

TRUMBLE, Thomas (flor. 1610)

Was present when Francke was robbed and tortured by Flemish rovers. After this ordeal, he and Francke left Mamora in a fifty-ton carvel and spoiled the John and Francis of London of her cargo of figs, as she was passing Gibraltar (30 November). The following month, Trumble, who was in a Flemish ship laden with cereals, and Francke, still in the carvel, intercepted the Blessing of Miching (?) Haven and took what they wanted. Trumble is not heard of again.

/H.C.A. 1/47/161-3, 237: 19 January, 13, 15 February, 16 October 1611; 13/41/162-3: 1 March 1611./

TUCKER, Daniel (flor. 1603)

A London merchant who was indicted for spoiling the Mary of Abildud of her lading of seventy-eight tuns of Gascon wine, while she was at anchor near the port of Conquet in Brittany, on 8 October 1603. Was arrested soon afterwards at the Isle of Man.

/H.C.A. 1/5/10. B.M. Add. MS. 5664, f. 333./

TUCKER, Thomas (flor. 1611-16)

A Newcastle mariner. Monson wrote of him: 'a seaman bred from his youth, and continual practice made him excellent in his art and profession.'

In 1611, when master's mate of the Daisy of Sandwich, he and a dozen other men were pressed into service by Easton. Tucker's training suited him for the life of a pirate and he soon became master's mate of the Concord, Easton's own ship.

February 1613, Tucker surrendered at Villefranche with Easton, and was employed for almost a year by the duke of Savoy at a wage of twenty-five crowns a month. He left Savoy about Christmas 1613 in Thornton's ship, and after putting in at Mamora he either joined Captain Woodland, or was forced into his service. When Woodland was arrested in Ireland, Tucker assumed captaincy of his ship, the Lion.

1614, sailed to Norway and took several Danish vessels, including a ship of 'Pomerland', which he kept as his man-of-war. He gave command of the Lion to Francis Dikes, but she was captured soon afterwards by Dutch warships. He then sailed to the Azores, where he dispossessed the pirate Haggerston of the Fortune, a Dutch-built vessel, and abandoned his Pomerland prize.

In the summer of 1614 he was intercepting shipping off Flamborough Head in a captured bark, the Company of Weymouth. He spoiled the Thomas of Newcastle,(his home town), and captured a Flemish vessel, the Holy Lamb, 120 tons, which he proceeded to use as his man-of-war. He sailed down the English Channel and searched some French Newfoundland fishing boats before heading for the Azores, where he robbed a Brazilman of sugar, green ginger and coin. On 20 October 1614, at latitude 46°, he took a Spanish prize laden with wood, hides and tobacco, and brought her to Ireland. This was the only piracy for which he was indicted.

After a voyage to the Spanish coast, when he took some money from a Frenchman, Tucker returned to Ireland. By this time (early 1615), he was making enquiries about a pardon. He had already asked the earl of Caithness to intercede on his behalf and though unwilling to promise anything, Chichester, the lord deputy of Ireland, did write to the lord admiral and the Privy Council for instructions.

No pardon came, and Tucker, who had met Woodland at Broadhaven, sailed north, intending to go to Russia in search of plunder. However, his ship was wrecked by a storm at the Faroes and he was left with a small fishing vessel of Kings Lynn, given to him by Woodland, who, according to Monson, treated Tucker very badly. In an effort to regain his strength, Tucker sailed to Iceland and captured another English fishing boat in which he was able to mount some ordnance. He wanted to take a Biscaynan vessel, which would have suited his purposes better, but these hopes were dashed when Richard Hall, one of his men, joined Harper and Guntropp, the masters of the two English fishing vessels, and captured him and his followers. The fishermen stripped the pirates of their clothes and shared out the booty, before finally bringing them to Yarmouth (mid-1615).

Tucker was sent to London, and examined in the admiralty court on 22 July 1615. He was still in prison in February 1616, but a few months later he and his men were pardoned,on the grounds that they were included in the pardon which was then being framed for Mainwaring and his followers. Monson, who was arrested in connection with the Overbury murder on 13 January 1616, claimed that one of his last actions had been to procure Tucker's pardon. However, Tucker remained in prison for some months after Monson's arrest and it seems more likely that the pirate owed his freedom to Mainwaring, who in April 1616 certified that Tucker and his men had all been involved in his crimes and were therefore entitled to receive the same pardon as himself.

Tucker may have had some difficulty in finding employment at sea after his release, but eventually he got a job in a ship trading to Denmark - a country which he cannot have been anxious to visit in view of his piracies on Danish vessels. Tragically for Tucker, he was recognised by a Danish ferryman, who had been at sea in a ship which he had plundered, and he was immediately tried and executed in Denmark.

/H.C.A. 1/6/174; 1/48/20, 52-9, 138, 149-51: 20 December 1614, 22, 26, 29 July 1615, 5 August 1617, 22 September 1619; 13/98/62, 186, 234: 14 June 1613, 23 May, 8 October 1614; 14/43/298-9, 341. Monson, Tracts, V. 293-9./

TURNER, Thomas (flor. 1606)

London, gentleman.

Leader of a band of about a dozen pirates in the Sow, a bark of only six tons, which was used to capture the William of Leith off Portland on 14 April 1606. Turner intended to keep the William as his man-of-war, but he and his men were captured by a Dutch warship and were handed over to the captain of Cowes castle.

After being imprisoned at Winchester, Turner was sent to London for trial. At this examination on 24 July 1606, he rather lamely tried to excuse his crime by saying that he had been forced to board the William because of the unseaworthiness of the Sow. He was tried in August and sentenced to be executed. Probably hanged at Wapping.

Possibly the same man as Thomas Earle, alias Turner (q.v.).

/H.C.A. 1/5/109; 1/46/268-9: 24 July 1606; 1/60/21; 13/38/52: 28 May 1606./

VAUGHAN, Alexander (flor. 1607-12?)

Described as 'a greate and tall bigge thick man'.

Was in possession of Dutch letters of marque in 1606. Sailed from Salcombe and was captain of a Hamburg flyboat, which was in consortship with a carvel captained by William Blanch, at the capture of the Pearl of Calais off the south-west coast of Spain, in about May 1607. The Pearl's cargo of Indian hides, cochineal, indigo, ginger and pearls was sold at Larache to two Portuguese jews.

Vaughan left the pirate Roberts in command of his ship and got passage home in the Jonathan, a London merchantman. He landed with his booty on the Isle of Wight and must have received a pardon, for a writ of non molestetis was issued for him. He may have returned to piracy, for in 1612, a Captain Vaughan surrendered in Ireland with Baugh and received a pardon.

/H.C.A. 1/6/65; 1/47/114: 3 May 1610; 13/40/161-2, 196-8: 16 June, 15 July 1609; 13/97/37-8, 58: 1 August, 20 October 1607; 13/98/37: 26 March 1613; 14/41/6. H.M.C. Sackville, I. 158-9./

VERNEY, Sir Francis (flor. 1609-15)

See above, pp. 80-1.

WALKER, John, (flor. 1608-10).

Harvell, Gloucestershire, mariner.

1608, was at sea with Bishop, who entrusted him with the command of a sixty-ton pink. Captured a St. Thome man and brought her to Safi. When Bishop arrived at Safi he discovered that Walker had tried to cheat him, so he dismissed him from his command.

Walker was arrested in Ireland soon afterwards, when he was master to Captain Finch, but was released on condition that he betrayed his captain. This he may well have done, for Finch's ship was captured in the Shannon. For a time Walker was used by Humphry Jobson, vice-admiral of Munster, to try to induce other pirates frequenting Ireland to surrender. He was eventually brought to London and examined in the admiralty court (7 May 1610). He claimed that he had given Samuel Cade £25 for a pardon, and that most of it had gone into Jobson's pocket. At the time of his examination he was in possession of a pass issued by Jobson, authorising him to travel freely about the country. He never appears to have stood trial.

/H.C.A. 1/47/32, 92, 120: 17 August 1609, 27 March, 7 May 1610; 13/97/271: 21 January 1609. B.M. Cott. MS Otho E VIII, f. 355./

WALKER, Philip (flor. 1608?-12)

Mariner, born in Bristol. By August 1613 he had known Baugh for about four years, and had been his right-hand man.

May have been the Philip Walker who was serving alongside John Walker in Bishop's ship in 1608.

c. 1610, was working with Baugh in the Orkneys as captain of the Porpoise, when some misfortune forced Baugh and his men to leave their own ship and board his. At this time the two pirates were on good terms, and they divided their loot equally.

1612, surrendered his man-of-war in Ireland, being described as Baugh's 'vice-admiral'. Although he had handed his booty to Baugh to be shared out later, Baugh kept it all for himself. Walker, who received a pardon, was examined in the admiralty court on 27 March 1613, and in an examination in the civil sector of the same court on 21 August 1613, he alleged that Baugh had cheated him. It is not known whether he managed to recover any of his plunder.

/H.C.A. 13/42/215, 217-8: 21 August 1613; 13/98/37-8, 40, 45-6: 26-7 March, 10 April 1613./

WALSINGHAM, Robert (flor. 1611-18)

London, mariner, but also described as a gentleman. Had only one arm. Went on a voyage to the West Indies about 1611 in the Daisy of London, which was captured by Easton off the Guinea coast. Joined the pirates marauding in Newfoundland and sailed into Ireland with Roope late in 1612.

He later claimed that he was carried to sea from Ireland by Woodland and given command of the Snap, a French-built ship of 100 tons, manned by seventeen men. He robbed two London vessels, the Margaret and the Thomas, but soon exchanged the Snap for Captain Wilkinson's ship, the Pilgrim, 200-tons, twenty guns.

Mid-1614, captured the Tiger of Bristol, sixty tons, off the Spanish coast, and brought her to Mamora. Soon afterwards he came into the River Laffoile (?) in Ireland with a small prize laden with iron and sugar, which he left there.

Joined the English pirate band at Mamora. Was described as 'admiral' of four pirate ships which captured the Angel Gabriel of Hamburg, 160 tons, in Spanish waters, on 27 October 1614. About this time he also spoiled two Dutch vessels and a French fishing boat.

After the fall of Mamora he sailed to Algiers in the Pilgrim and served the Turks for some years. In 1615, working in consortship with other Turkish vessels, he plundered the Susan Constance of London off the coast of Spain, and also seized a ship of Plymouth and robbed a French vessel of £2,000. In January 1617, in a Turkish vessel of 200 tons and twenty-five guns, and in command of five other Turkish warships, he set upon the Dolphin of London near Sardinia. Although he failed to take the Dolphin, the English consul at Algiers, James Frizell, saw him sail into harbour with some English prisoners later in the year.

Walsingham protested that he had been forced to sail with the Turks and that he had eventually escaped and sailed to Ireland, where he had surrendered. On 16 July 1618 he was examined in the admiralty court. He was indicted for piracy on the Susan Constance, tried and sentenced to death at Southwark on 24 July 1618. He must have been reprieved, for he sailed in the English naval expedition of 1620-1, and commanded a fireship in the attack on the boats in the harbour at Algiers. No doubt his specialist knowledge of the Algerine defences came in useful. He returned to England with the fleet, but by Easter 1622 he had been thrown into the Tower, because 'he began to prattle of returning to his old occupation, and for that purpose of surprising the Dreadnaught one of the King's ships.'

/Supra, pp. 163-4. H.C.A. 1/6/190-1; 1/48/20-3, 64, 67, 105, 129, 175-6, 307: 7, 9, 12 January, 14 December 1615, 29 January, 15 July 1616, 24 March 1617, 16 July 1618, 7 April 1620; 13/98/7, 11, 211: 10, 12 December 1612, 9 August 1614. S.P. 14/129/62. Lediard, The Naval History of England, 1066-1734, II. 440-3./

WARD, John (flor. 1603-22?)

Probably the most famous English pirate of his day and one of the few Jacobean pirates whose name has survived.

/Supra, pp. 57-72, 78-9./

WARD, Philip (flor. 1602-5)

Exeter, merchant. Captain of the Thomasyn of Dartmouth. Confused with John Ward by Moore.

Entered the Mediterranean and turned to piracy, capturing a French ship near Sardinia in 1602. Was indicted and brought to trial in 1605. He refused to plead and was pressed to death on 3 July.

/H.C.A. 1/5/11, 65; 1/46/125-7, 185, 274-5: 25 April 1604, 13 May 1605, 8 August 1606; 1/60/11-12. B.M. Add. MS. 5664, f. 317. H.M.C. Salisbury, XVII. 295-6. Moore, 'Some Aspects of English Piracy', p. 41 n. 34./

WEBB, Christopher (flor. 1610-11)

Bristol, merchant.

Insured his ship, the Patience of Bristol, for a false amount, and planned to 'saile into Barbary amongste the piratts, and either sinck his shipp, or combine with the piratts to be taken.' In fact, his plot to defraud the insurers misfired and he became a pirate himself. He renamed his ship the Blue Man of War and, in consortship with Dutch rovers, captured a Portuguese frigate in August 1610. He stored his booty at Mamora in a vessel called 'Captain Webb's Storehouse' and sent the Blue Man of War to sea, under the command of Mathew Hutchinson, who succeeded in capturing another Portuguese vessel in September 1610.

The sugar and Brazil wood from Webb's prizes were purdhased by William Penn and William Stephens, two Bristol merchants, who freighted the Ann Constance of Yarmouth with their booty, in order to bring it to England. Webb himself returned home in the Blue Man of War, which ran aground near Southampton early in 1611. In February 1611 was in custody at Southampton, where, on 28 March a true bill was returned on an indictment against him.

/Supra, pp. 87-8, and under Hutchinson. H.C.A. 1/6/72, 91-2; 1/47/178-180, 237-9: 10 April, 16 October 1611; 13/41/180-1, 184: 9, 21 April 1611; 24/74/14, 18. Horrocks (ed.), The Assembly Books of Southampton, III. 3 and n./

WHITE, Captain (flor. 1611)

A pirate-captain at Mamora in 1611, who refused James' offer of a pardon.

Nothing more is known about him for certain, for although several men of the same name were involved in piracy during James' reign, it is impossible to make any positive identification with this man.

/H.C.A. 13/98/78: 3 July 1613./

WILKINSON, John (flor. 1606?-14)

A man of this name is first mentioned in 1606 in the crew of Adyn's ship the Golden Phoenix.

In the spring of 1611 a Captain Wilkinson rifled the Samaritan of Dartmouth at Leamçon. This was probably the same pirate who, as captain of a Danish prize of 300tons, intercepted the Hopewell of Colchester, but released her without doing any harm.

c. August 1611, John Wilkinson of Colchester was captain of the Valentia, a Dutch man-of-war crewed by Englishmen, which was captured by Easton at Santa Cruz. His ship was taken from him. He does not appear to have served with Easton.

A Captain Wilkinson next appears c. 1614 at Mamora, in command of a Flemish vessel of 300 tons. He is not heard of again.

/H.C.A. 1/46/285: 22 September 1606; 1/47/207-8, 246: 28 June, 2 November 1611; 13/98/13, 211: 19 December 1612, 9 August 1614./

WOLMER, William (flor. 1608-12)

Plymouth, mariner. His name is also spelt Wolman, Wilmott and Wilmore.

First appears when indicted with Bishop for spoiling a Dunkirk pink on 20 July 1608. Although never indicted again, he was one of the most important leaders of the band of pirates which frequented the Munster coast in 1609-10. Was named alongside Bishop in a petition for pardon drawn up at the instigation of some merchants, c. 1611.

Was in consortship with Easton at the capture of the Concord, in command of a vessel of 160-tons, mounting eighteen pieces. Was separated from the rest of the pirates off Ushant and succeeded in taking a Lubeck prize laden with wheat and rye, which he brought to Leamcon. c. August 1611, he captured the Falcon of Hamburg and, after selling her sugar-cargo at Safi, he rejoined Easton at Santa Cruz. He then sailed to Newfoundland with Easton and was named in a pardon dated 11 February 1612. It is not clear whether he deserted, or whether he was captured on the Banks by some west countrymen, but he certainly returned to England. He was probably pardoned, for he does not appear to have been interrogated or arraigned.

/H.C.A. 1/6/24; 1/47/252, 275, 278: 15 November 1611, 3, 17 April 1612; 1/48/52: 22 July 1615; 13/98/6, 10, 13, 18-19, 58-60, 63-5; 10, 12, 19 December 1612, 19 January, 14, 15 June 1613; 14/41/137. S.P. 14/65/16, 14/71/43. Lambeth Palace, S.P. Carew, vol. 619, ff. 138, 143-4. B.M. Cott. MS Otho E VIII, f. 170./

WOLMER, John (flor. 1611-12)

Brother of William.

Was given command of the Falcon of Hamburg by his brother, accompanied him to Newfoundland, and became captain of the Lion Dore. Was named in the pardon of 11 February 1612, although he had never been indicted. Was either captured or returned to England on his own, where he was probably pardoned along with his brother.

/H.C.A. 13/98/13, 59-60, 63-4: 19 December 1612, 14, 15 June 1613; 14/41/137./

WOOLASTON, Richard (flor. 1615-18)

London, gentleman.

Surrendered with Captain Barry in Ireland in 1615, was examined in the admiralty court (2 August 1616), and probably pardoned.

In 1617 he and Barry sailed on Raleigh's expedition and tried to persuade Sir Walter to plunder French vessels. By about September 1618 he had left Raleigh, and was reported to be plundering the Newfoundland fishermen.

/H.C.A. 1/48/107, 148-9, 153-4, 217: 2 August 1616, 11, 12 November 1617, 21 January 1619./

WOOLWORTH, Captain (flor. 1609)

Described as 'a tall man, and well sett, and hath a blacke head and beardo, and weareth a longe locke one one side of his head, and that he is about fortie yeares of age.'

Was in command of forty men in a Flemish vessel of about 100 tons, which intercepted the Endeavour of London near the Straits of Gibraltar on 15 August 1609.

/H.C.A. 1/47/151: 20 October 1610./

WOOD, Captain (flor. 1610-11?)

Late in 1610 a pirate of this name left Mamora to settle at Leghorn, under the protection of the duke.of Tuscany.

In October 1611 a Captain Wood arrived at Mamora and told Middleton that Easton would be at Fedala later in the year to receive his pardon.

/H.C.A. 1/47/193: 31 May 1611; 13/98/150: 16 December 1613./

WOODLAND, John, alias MENDOZA or MONNOCHO (flor. 1614-15?)

Sometime surgeon's mate on a pinnace under the command of Sir William Monson.

Was captain of one of six pirate ships which seized the Hopewell and her lading of alum, soap and aniseed off the Burlings on 7 January 1614. This is evidence of Monson's assertion that Woodland showed no special favours to English ships. In 1614 he was named as one of the captains at Mamora, and had several prizes of his own.

He left Mamora with 100 men in the Lion in the summer of 1614, intending to sail to the North Cape to prey on merchants trading to Russia. However, he was captured when he went ashore at Aran Island, off the coast of Donegal. After being held prisoner for several months he was set free, and went to sea in a Flemish ship. c. March 1615, he met and joined forces with Tucker, an old acquaintance. The two planned to sail to the 'Seven Islands' of Russia in search of plunder, but Tucker's ship was wrecked at the Faroes. Monson says that Woodland seized this opportunity to rob Tucker and that he 'had no more pity of him than of a Spaniard, who were most obnoxious to pirates in those days.' Tucker himself makes no mention of such treachery.

Soon after this incident, Woodland was captured in the Faroes by one of the king of Denmark's ships. He was taken to Denmark and executed.

/H.C.A. 1/48/52-4, 57-9: 22, 29 July 1615; 13/98/172-3, 189, 211: 15 February, 23 May, 9 August 1614. Monson, Tracts, V. 293-9./

WORSWICK, See COLLINS, Abraham.

APPENDIX III

B.M. Cott. MS. Otho E VIII, ff. 4-5.

'The Breviat'

This is a list of charges which was drawn up against Sir Richard Hawkins, vice-admiral of Devon, detailing the corruption that existed in the admiralty of Devon during the first five years of James I's reign. It can be dated to December 1609 or to the early months of 1610 by the mention of William Mynnes, 'lately Condemned and executed', and John Halse, 'lately executed'. These two pirates were tried at Southwark on 19 December 1609 and executed soon afterwards (H.C.A. 1/60/46).

The manuscript has been badly damaged by fire. Wherever possible, words have been inserted in square brackets to give sense and continuity.

.... Richard Hawkins was Vice [Admiral of Devon] ....
1605. 1606. 1607. 1608 and ....

[1] Captaine William Hull was a Pyrate [at the end of Elizabeth's] raigne and beginning of the Kinge.

The sayd Hull and his Companie came with ... water in the County of Devon, about Michelmas [1603] ... who Sir Richard Hawkins understood then to be a [pirate].

Sir Richard Hawkins sent unto the Conestable ... [re] quiring him to assemble a sufficient power for the apprehending [of William] Hull and his Companie, which was done; and the men asse [mbled in] readines for that purpose; Sir Richard Hawkins in their vewe [hailed the] said Hull, and had conference with him: and after such [conference] went aboard his shipp; and from thence came to shoare, [some of] Hull's Companie landing at the same tyme with him; and some in [his] compaine imediatly after, whome he would not suffer the Officers to apprehend, but permitted both Hull and all his Companie to escape; and to carry much goods away with them; and after some few houres spent by Hull and his Companie in the dispatch of their goods and persons according to their composition in the foresaid conference: Sir Richard Hawkins retourned to Hull's shipp where he had a Chest of Rawe silke worth fortie poundes etc.

/2/ Sir Richard Hawkins gave a discharge under his hand and seale to John Payne about the yeare 1607 who then came from sea with Longcastle and Cade, Pyratts, and receaved for the same fortie pounds. And he had an other dischargde /sic/ readie written with a blancke to put in the name of such as should be compounded withall.

3 Nicholas Deane was one of Hull's Companie, and called in question by Sir Richard Hawkins for matters of pyracie, and yet had a dischaɹge from him in haec verba. I Sir Richard Hawkins, knight, Viceadmirall of the County of Devon, doe remise release and acquite unto the above named Nicholas Dean of Dartmouth, all manner of actions and advantages which I the said Richard have or may have against the said Nicholas Deane, by reason of my Viceadmiraltie from the beginning of the world to the date of theise presentes. In witnes whereof I have hereunto put my hand and seale the xxth daye of November 1606. Richard Hawkins.

4 Edward Follet was a reputed Pyratt Anno Domini 1604. This Follet had for money from Sir Richard Hawkins under his hand and seale a discharge in haec verba. I Sir Richard Hawkins for the considerations within specified doe release unto the within named Edward Follet all Clayme interest and title, which I may have or now have unto the goods or chattells or any other forfeitures, by reason of the offences of depredation or other offences committed by him, as Viceadmirall of the County of Devon; I doe acquite the said Edward Follet. And in witnes hereof I have hereunto sett my hand and seale the first of Aprill 1606. Richard Hawkins.

/5/ ... Annis 1603 .... for sixe yeares past this Fall .... Hawkins in a Flye boate where he ... which time there were two or three ... Hawkins and the Pyratt, and at ... composition made betwixt them; and thereupon ... the said Fall eighteen pounds in money, and ... /Fa/ll sayd he had offended the lawe and would ride ... /vice-?/ admirall to make his peace, and so went away and ... Sir Richard Hawkins had a hundred poundes for the Ship ....

/6/ John Phillips was a reputed Pyratt Anno 1604. About five yeares since this Phillips was apprehended and ... by Sir Richard Hawkins.

/7/ Note that Phillips, Follett, Goodwin, Dean were /of Captain Hull's Companie/ and Captaine Ward's, as appeareth by the /proofs/ of the former witnesses and Sir Richard Hawkins /knew them/ vizt. Hull and Ward to be Pyratts in the Queen's /reign/ as appeareth in his answers in the Starr Chamber.

8 John Vose about three yeares since, upon complainte made by /certain/ Englishmen that he had robbed them a sea, fled from the Cone /stable of/ Stonehowse and others, who then indevored to arrest him /that he/ afterwards was taken at Plymouth and there arrested for /piracy/ and discharged by Sir Richard Hawkins and so went to sea again.

9. Jeremy Payment being arrested upon suspition of pyracie /was/ discharged by Sir Richard Hawkins for money about three yeares /since/.

10. Triscott, Burges, Staplehill and others about three yeares /past, who/ had bought goods out of the shipp of one Moy Jaques, were /apprehended/ by Sir Richard Hawkins and he tooke all their goods from them, vizt. ... thirtie two bolts of Holland, and never inflicted any other punishment upon them.

11. But this Moy Jaques himselfe, whose goods as sold by a Pyratt Sir Richard Hawkins seazed, was not only not apprehended by him, but Brib /es/ furnished with necessaries and releived and countenanced.

12. Trowts and his Companie in Anno 1608 were Pyratts. Hee was within these two yeares stayed by an Officer and his sayles brought on shoare, but shortly after, the sayd Trowts and his shipp were by order from Sir Richard Hawkins discharged, the sayles redilivered, and so the shipp went to sea againe and committed manie pyracies.

13. Cooke and Davies were of the Companie of Captaine Hull or Captaine Warde and were Pyratts: these about fower yeares past were apprehended by the Maior of Dartmouth, and Anno 1604 confessed before him that they were of Captaine Ward's Companie, and that the said Cooke was his Steward and Davies gunner; and thereupon were sent to the gaole of Exceter, and at the next Sessions on Colliper, Sergeant to the Maior, offered to the Court their sayd Examinacions which were rejected by Sir Richard Hawkins, and so for want of evidence they were freed.

/There then follows a further 9 charges./

/1/ .... barrell of powder on board ....
.... of August 1608 Sir Richard ....
Coster, having procuration from the ....
the said Heale a discharge in his behalf ....
gott a discharge with an antedate. But ....
apprehend or punish the said Heale for so ....

/2/ In the yeare 1605 or thereabouts, Sir Richard Hawkins .... unto a dutchman of warr at Plymouth, wh .... his goeing forth out of the harbour comitted /a piracy on/ a shipp of the said harbour.

/3/ In the yeare 1603 or thereabouts, Thomas Corie /being lately come/ from sea having Comitted pyracie, Sir Richard Hawkins ... shipp and for his voyage procured a discharge from ... comissioners, and himselfe also gave him a discharge under his /hand/, receiving for the same fifteene poundes.

/4/ In the yeare 1607 or thereabouts, George Dix, a pyrate, being of Ward's Companie, came from the Straights with Longcastle and Taverner - Pyratts executed: and receaved a discharge from Sir Richard Hawkins, who had for the same twentie five poundes.

/5/ John Halse, lately executed, had a discharge for his pyracie from Sir Richard Hawkins, and payde for the same to Sir Richard Hawkins, Mr. Jobson and one Grimes a hundred and fifty poundes.

6. In the yeare 1607 or thereabouts, John Smarte received covertly from one Robinson, a Pyrate, twentie poundes and afterwards was in his Companie and helped to convoy him away, whereof Sir Richard Hawkins having notice, received the said money of the said Smart and never punished him for his said misdemeanour with the Pyrate.

7. Sir Richard Hawkins had of Georg Curber seaventie seaven poundes, which he secretly had from the said Robinson a Pyrate, and never punished the said Curber for the same after he had the said money.

8. The said Sir Richard Hawkins had also of Argentine Clement, wydow, fortie or fiftie poundes which shee Covertly receaved from the same Robinson, a Pyrate, and he having the money, never punished her for her fault in that behalfe, but gave her a discharge.

9. About the yeare 1604, Mynes a Pyrate brought a french shipp into Cawson Baye; and afterwardes compounded for the same his facte with Sir Richard Hawkins, and one Burnell a Comissioner for twentie markes, and paying the same had a discharge under their handes and seales. And the sayd Mynes was for the same facte now lately Condemned and executed, at whose arraygnment Sir Richard Hawkins was sworne to geive evidence, how he yt he spake then much in his favour, to the great dislike of the Judges which then sate on the bench.

The monies plate and goods taken by Sir Richard Hawkins from very manie severall persons, who had received the same of Pyrats without any other censure of those persons for such receaving amounte to a huge valew which maye be recited yf the Court shall so require.

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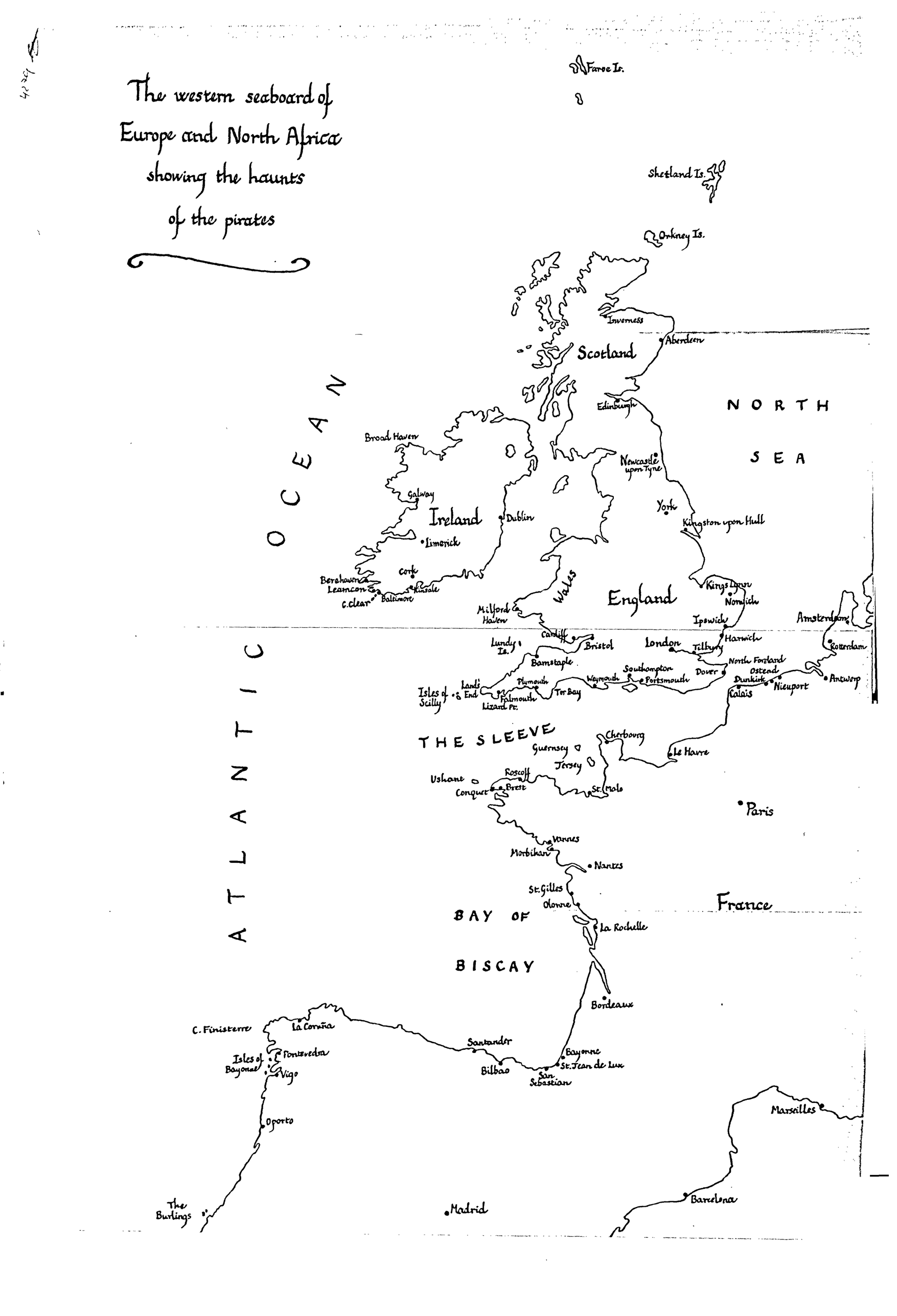
The western seaboard of Europe and North Africa showing the haunts of the pirates
Faroe Is.
Shetland Is.
Orkney Is.
Inverness
Aberdeen
Scotland
Edinburgh
NORTH SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Broad Haven
Newcastle upon Tyne
Galway
Ireland
Dublin
York
Kingston upon Hull
Limerick
Cork
Berehaven
Leancon
C. clear
Kinsale
Baltimore
Wales
England
Kings Lynn
Norwich
Milford Haven
Ipswich
Amsterdam
Cardiff
Lundy Is.
Bristol
London
Harwich
Tilbury
Rotterdam
Barnstaple
North Foreland
Southampton
Dover
Ostend
Weymouth
Portsmouth
Dunkirk
Antwerp
Land's End
Plymouth
Nieuport
Isles of Scilly
Falmouth
Tor Bay
Calais
Lizard Pt.
THE SLEEVE
Cherbourg
Guernsey
Le Havre
Jersey
Roscoff
Ushant
Brest
Conquet
St. Malo
Paris
Vannes
Morbihan
Nantes
St. Gilles
Olonne
France
BAY OF
BISCAY
La Rochelle
Bordeaux
C. Finisterre
La Coruña
Santander
Bayonne
Isles of Bayonae
Pontevedra
Bilbao
St. Jean de Luz
San Sebastian
Vigo
Oporto
Marseilles
The Burlings
Madrid
Barcelona